

# JOURNAL of FORCES

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# The Search After Values

## CRITICISM AND MOTIVES

One of the outstanding limitations of present-day efforts to direct social policy and social study seems to us to be found in the all too prevalent inclination to assign motives for action, to mix up moral elements with the mere statement of facts, and to neglect perspective and relational interpretations. Such a limitation not only defeats the purpose, many times over, of the effort, but retards progress in obtaining truth and in promoting the utilization of the scientific method in matters of social concern. At an early date an editorial on the fallacy of the absolute in social criticism will follow. There are, however, many current examples which have very direct bearing on plans and productions of any periodical like *The JOURNAL*, which must present facts and interpretations outside the field of mere opinion or personal judgment, or desired ends to be attained, in so far as may be possible.

A striking example may be found in many of the current agitations for and against the Federal Child Labor Amendment. There is little to choose between the two sides so far as quantitative assignment of motives appears. Georgia killed the amendment and prominent journals immediately assigned its failure to the "mill barons" whereas the farmer and rural consciousness and habit of experience, led by ecclesiastical fervor, together with all the other complex factors from legislative character to misinterpretation of the whole matter, were more than ample to do the trick without so much as the raising of a hand by the others. Likewise, since the failure of the bill by vote in Massachusetts, a most interesting array of reasons has been displayed, with many instances in which whole types of influences are neglected. So wicked have been the Massachusetts folk that it now develops that they, and not the South are responsible for the defeat in Georgia and North Carolina—

where "they say" most of the mills are owned by Massachusetts capitalists. So, too, the extreme accusations and rantings of the opponents have assigned to the dimnition bow-wows those who work hard and sincerely for an important change in social policy. Just how much more effective would be the careful analysis and presentation of all factors may have to be found out yet through a longer time study and promotion than will be found in this year's results.

## INCONSISTENCIES

One of the most interesting situations that the observer sees is that of Southern Protestants quoting with great fervor the arguments of Massachusetts Catholic papers against the movement in spaces and columns but recently devoted to anti-Catholic propaganda. A collection of editorials from papers, big and small, and arranged alongside, would make an attractive "deadly parallel." *The JOURNAL* has in preparation for an early issue a statistical study of the whole movement for the ratification of the Federal Amendment and its scope and content promise to prove both interesting and extremely valuable. Why shouldn't such an analysis have a two-fold value of substance and method?

Turning to another subject suggested by the anti-Jew rantings of a Southern professional religious agitator, an unusual spectacle was that of W. O. Saunders of the Elizabeth City (N. C.) *Independent* proclaiming in half-inch headlines the proud results that he had proved the Evangelist Ham a liar and submitting as evidence telegrams from the presidents of the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, from leading ministers of Chicago, from the Chicago Tribune and other sources of unquestioned reliability. In which instance one is rather glad that Brother Saunders did not assign motives but let the statistical array stand for itself.

## MIXED RESOLUTIONS

The futility of assigning motives and exclusive reasons for group action might be illustrated again in the case of an unusual set of resolutions adopted by one of the state units of the W. C. T. U. Definite and well stated and high minded resolutions were adopted condemning in severe terms lynching under any possible circumstances, the Ku Klux Klan and all manner of mask and disguise, religious intolerance and racial prejudice, interference with the due process of law. They "endorse the Federal Child Labor Law and pledge ourselves to work for its ratification," and advocate the world court, sound eugenic laws and other progressive legislation. Certainly here is a courageous body of women earnestly and sincerely looking to the good of society. Is, then, their action in the next resolution, the longest of all, working for legislation to prevent any sale or manufacture whatever of cigarettes with urgent requests for anti-cigarette days in the Sunday Schools, or their resolutions against the display in advertisements of the "feminine form practically nude" less sincere, or less courageous? Is it not rather a question of perspective and analysis? And a question of the long road of social study and progress and experience?

## CAPITALIST AND STUDENT

Gerald W. Johnson, writing in the *Greensboro News* about a meeting at which "not a resolution was passed and not a committee appointed" describes an attitude which may well be sought in all matters where controversy is paramount. "Nothing definite," he says, "was done, nothing definite was attempted; but the thing nevertheless was an outgrowth of a movement that may result in incalculable advantage to the state. What happened was that a group of social workers gathered round a table as the guests of a group of manufacturers, and the two groups talked to each other. Perhaps, to be entirely accurate, they talked at each other. But the point is, they talked amicably and without heat. Nobody hinted that the manufacturers are grinding the faces of the poor. Nobody hinted that social workers are as a rule either insane or followers after the loaves and fishes. We submit that this could hardly have occurred ten years ago. But

we all have learned much in ten years. Employers have learned that this growing industrial system is a much more complicated thing, and much more difficult to handle than it seemed a few years ago. Social workers have learned that what schools and textbooks don't teach about the relations of capital and labor is a great deal and greatly important.

"At this particular meeting it struck the man on the fence that the manufacturers had the last word. One of them made a speech in which he took a flat-footed stand in favor of paternalism. What, he inquired in effect, is so radically wrong with paternalism as to justify its abandonment in favor of the old system of every worker for himself and the devil take the hindmost?

## SOCIOLOGY AT THE BAT

"It is a fair question, and one that sociology must answer satisfactorily, if it is to make much impression on the state. It does not assume that paternalism is perfect, therefore it cannot be answered satisfactorily merely by pointing out the defects in the paternalistic system. It does assume that paternalism is the best system that has yet been devised for handling cotton mill labor, and if the sociologist denies that, the manufacturer will instantly counter with the playwright's famous answer to the stage manager who called for more witty lines: 'As, for instance?'

"You cannot reasonably ask a cotton mill manager to abandon paternalism unless you are prepared to tell him what to substitute for it; but what is social science for, if not to devise better methods to replace those which experience has shown to be inefficient? Any science, however, is helpless until it knows exactly what it is up against, and social science is no exception to the general rule. The abler manufacturers are fair-minded enough to admit that and to give the social workers any information that they may require. In fact, those whose education has proceeded far enough to enable them to distinguish between a sociologist and a socialist—a distinction that not a few are still unable to make—are only too glad to listen to a social scientist who has something to say other than perfectly true, but perfectly irrelevant generalities.



"This growing disposition on the part of the men of practice and the men of theory to take counsel together is one of the most encouraging omens for the future of industrial North Carolina. In other sections the growth of industrialism has been fruitful of strife, bitterness and hatred, much of which could have been avoided had the practical men of affairs known a little more about social theory, and had the theorists been a little closer in touch with actualities. If the men of affairs and the students of social science pool their knowledge in this state, North Carolina should be able to evolve industrially with less disturbance than has marked the history of any other great manufacturing region."

#### CO-OPERATING GROUPS

One of the most interesting and valued points of contact which *The JOURNAL* is making is that of the Southern Textile Social Service Association, with a membership of some four hundred representatives of southern mill communities, through which *The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* will become a sort of experimental official medium. The departmental contributions of *The JOURNAL* dealing with industry will be especially timely for this group and should include besides leading theoretical and statistical articles some of the news notes and dynamic factors in the larger industrial development of the piedmont region.

Among the most interesting discussions that have been presented in the Southern States with reference to this need of balance in intellectual conflict are those that have been presented on the editorial page of the Columbus (Georgia) *Enquirer-Sun*, which contributions have been made by Julian Harris and Julia Collier Harris with quite an excellent selection of citations from the editorials of the *Macon Telegraph*. Throughout the last summer the *Enquirer-Sun* stood out in its fine leadership for social and intellectual progress in the former empire state of the South. Readers of *The JOURNAL* may expect something good from the pens of these workers and dreamers who carry on the spirit of Uncle Remus with their own progressive contributions.

#### IMPRESSIONS AND FACTS

An important contribution of the future will be an article written by the editors giving a presentation of "impressions" gained by a number

of distinguished visitors from other parts of the nation from their visits to the South. The question of whether their impressions are accurate or not, will have nothing to do with the value of the discussion, which will be, after all, an interpretation of impressions and situations.

An interesting type of "impressions" might be gleaned from a group of graduate students at the University of North Carolina, including members from Mississippi, Georgia, North and South Carolina and Virginia, who sat from seven o'clock in the evening until midnight reading and discussing "The Fire in the Flint," "Birth Right," "White Blood," "White America," and this type of literature previously unknown. *The JOURNAL* will probably present at an early date written "impressions" not only from this group but from Gerald W. Johnson and others of the Editors, as well as other Southerners.

An important event for the South is the announcement that *The Reviewer*, formerly published at Richmond and originally edited by James Branch Cabell, Hunter Stagg and Emily Clark will be transferred to North Carolina for the new year. The magazine with its new organization will be edited by Paul Green, Gerald W. Johnson, C. A. Hibberd of the University of North Carolina, Nell Battle Lewis of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, and Hunter Stagg and Mrs. Edward Swift Balch (Emily Clark) of Richmond, and R. S. Pickens of Hickory, North Carolina, who with the Times-Mercury Publishing Company, will publish and finance the periodical. *The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* predicts that the *Reviewer* will prove an outstanding contribution to the South without in any sense manifesting provincial sectionalism or preventing it from making national contributions.

#### THE NEW YEAR

*The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* has not found subscriptions given by friends of *The JOURNAL* to still other friends for Christmas presents a particularly attractive plan for increasing its constituency. The idea, however, of a New Year's gift, in which *The JOURNAL* is set forth as providing a continuous source of varied material from the best authors does seem most appropri-



ate for those whose ambition includes a genuine desire for promoting social science and social work. For instance, if each subscriber of *The JOURNAL* should, instead of a New Year's resolution, actually send *The JOURNAL* to some one in the field of public service not otherwise reached, it would enable *The JOURNAL* to perform a still better service and to achieve some of its amition for even higher standards.

Of course we know that this is not going to happen, but suppose—well, suppose some of it happened.

#### RENEWALS AND RECRUITS

It is doubtful which has given more satisfaction to the Editors of *The JOURNAL* this Fall, the increase of approximately twenty per cent in subscribers with the distribution at least interesting in forty states and a beginning of foreign circulation, (incidentally, New York leads) or the most gratifying ratio of renewals, or, on the other hand, the good will of a number of readers who have gone out and brought in new subscribers. For these, including the teacher in a small college who sent us seven subscribers from his students and ten from out in the neighborhood and the professor in a large university who made a similar division of his recruits, we express appreciation. If *The JOURNAL* does prove to an increasingly larger number of people to be worthy of this sort of thing, there will be an almost unlimited opportunity ahead.

#### CONTRIBUTORS, NEW AND OLD

*William Allen White* in a new series of articles will undoubtedly prove to be one of the best features of the year. His new volume on *Woodrow Wilson* just published by Houghton Mifflin Com-

pany sets him still another step in the midst of the best of letters and literature in this country. It is a remarkable interpretation of life and character in the nation.

We have said that Professor *Giddings'* volume on the "Scientific Study of Human Society" is the book of a generation in its field. We are convinced of this the more we look at it and use it as a unity, both for general interpretation and for advanced students. We doubt, however, if any of these chapters will be so delightful in reading qualities as his forthcoming discussion of the "learned ignorati" in which we dare say readers of *THE JOURNAL* will find punch a-plenty.

A series of articles on Individual Differences, including scholarly interpretations of the Galton type of contribution to sociology will bring readers of *THE JOURNAL* expected values from Frank H. Hankins.

Frances Newman will write effectively and interestingly about Southern Women in Politics.

Julia Collier Harris will add to the series on Southern Pioneers with the paper on "Joel Chandler Harris: Social Interpreter of the Folk Spirit."

Iva L. Peters will discuss some social interpretation from the historical background of borderland Maryland.

Some of these days there may appear an announcement concerning a group of four score new interpreters of the South, with as many themes ready for the writing. And then again there may not. If it does appear it will be worth watching; if it does not appear, many articles will be forthcoming at any rate.

And so, for other announcements, and for other articles like Bernard's, and Chapin's, see further at the end of the *JOURNAL* under "Contributors to the *JOURNAL*."

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# The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Volume III

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Number 2

## EXPLORATION AND SURVEY

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS

**A** SCIENTIFIC scrutiny of facts and a scientific interpretation of the relations are not complete until we have asked the question, as old as human apprehension and desire, as old as curiosity, What else? What else is, or happens? What else was, or happened? What else will be, or will happen?

Yet so indolent are we, and so swayed by wishful thinking, that we do not always conscientiously ask these questions when seeking knowledge or attempting to achieve visualized ends. In societal telesis there has been incalculable waste of effort and of resources through failure to ask one of these questions in particular, namely, What else probably will happen when we bring about, or try to bring about, a change that we have in view, and believe to be desirable? This neglect is the characteristic vice of legislation.

Exploration and survey are systematic methods of trying to discover "what else."

The primary meaning of the verb "to explore" (*ex* and *ploro*) is to call out or to cry out into uncertainty, not to a person in view or for help in sight. It connotes the missing, the unseen, the possible; and probably from the earliest days first attempts towards systematic exploration have consisted in random questionings and observations. Questionings have been addressed to travelers returned from distant parts, and to other persons who have had unusual opportunities or experiences. Observations have been made by the way in the course of wanderings "to find out." Then have come reconnaissances. Invaders have sent resourceful scouts "to spy out the land."

Out of these beginnings have been developed explorations which are orderly to a degree. The mining engineer improves upon the ways of the prospector by running drifts, in one and another direction, through ore-bearing strata, to discover veins and pockets rich enough to pay for working. The archeologist sinks shafts and trenches to the bottom of successive accumulations of human handiwork, ages ago abandoned. The social and societal explorer, after visiting, touring, slumming, and interviewing, resorts to questionnaires and films which can be checked up.

Exploration at its best is a careful sampling of a field, regional, temporal, dynamic, or what you will. The survey is a larger undertaking. It is a comprehensive examination of a field, a combination and total of explorations. It comprises observations, enumerations, measurements, and precise determinations of metes and bounds.

Surveys are of two fundamental types. One is the pattern survey, the other is the variability survey. The pattern survey maps and graphs form and action patterns, as they appear at a given moment. The variability survey records changes in form and action patterns from time to time occurring, and, also, should if possible record changes in rates and ratios of change. The variability survey presupposes pattern surveys, repeated at constant intervals.

A pattern survey, if adequate and accurate, may have large value because of its disclosures of unsuspected resources, opportunities, and relationships, and, as well, of unsuspected dangers, liabilities, wrongs, and other things objec-



tionable. When these matters have been established and have become familiar knowledge the question of the worth-whileness of repeating the survey occasionally, or regularly at intervals of equal length, turns upon the value of a variability survey, and this involves questions of cost.

These considerations are of prime importance as they bear upon social and societal surveys, to which now we may turn attention.

Social and societal surveying has been a fad and an industry. It is becoming a scientific enterprise, of improving quality. It is beginning to give us trustworthy and significant information.

The best surveys of human interests hitherto have been of limited scope. They have been specifically religious, educational, commercial, or industrial, or specifically surveys of living conditions, working conditions, family incomes and family budgets. Comprehensive surveys of entire communities have not been numerous, and with such outstanding exceptions as Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London*, in England, and the Pittsburgh and Springfield surveys in America, have not been notoriously excellent.

It is now and then in courtesy, but usually it is in ignorance, that such surveys as have been made are described as "social," "societal," or "community" surveys. The sociological data and suggestions which they offer us are meagre. The religious surveys are ninety percent or more religious. The educational surveys are ninety-five percent technically educational. The trade and industrial surveys are ninety-nine percent technically economic. Even the surveys of living conditions, working conditions, family incomes and family budgets, which would be better worthwhile if, without being less economic, they were more sociological, have so far contributed little to social or societal psychology, to our knowledge of folk-ways, or of cultural conflicts, or to our understanding of the variability of leadership, of organization, or of status.

A survey that could properly be described as social and societal would discover, record, map, and graph phenomena that are social or societal in a strict instead of in a loose meaning of the words. It would ascertain and disclose prevailing, unusual, and peculiar stimulations and responses, exhibited in multi-individual behaviour;

habits of association and of co-activity, especially the variate forms; common excitements and uncommon outbreaks, and their causes; persisting folk-ways, changing ones, and new ones; controversies and deliberations; cultural conflicts; group and class struggles; variate forms of leadership and of organization; social work and societal engineering; status and its variability; the variability of coercion, including intimidation and bullying; the variability of liberty, and the clash of liberty with coercion; the variability of such ameliorations of life as security and abundance; the variability of viable departures from type; the variability of socialization, as shown by the kinds and amounts of prevailing vice and crime; and the variability of individuation, and of adequacy.

A true social and societal survey, comprising these essentials, is as yet a possibility only. I have never yet seen one, and I have never yet been able to persuade a student of sociology to undertake one.

And, as might be expected, I do not know of any comprehensive sociological survey of a community. The best approximation to one that I am acquainted with is Professor James M. Williams' study, *An American Town*. Such a survey would comprise, in addition to all of the foregoing matters by way of background, a detailed and trustworthy account of the origins and historical evolution of the community; of the peculiarities of the inhabitants, generation by generation; of the regional influences and circumstantial pressures that have borne upon them, selecting and conditioning them; of the resulting heterogeneity or homogeneity of physical and of mental type, and the consequent mental and moral levels.

A community survey may take for its field a village, a town, a city, a county, a state, a region or section, or a nation. It will be long before we shall have detailed community surveys of wide extent. We could have village surveys made by individuals or private organizations, and it is to be hoped that the rural sociologists will undertake them. State and national surveys must be public enterprises. The United States Census, with all its shortcomings and imperfections, is the most important undertaking by way of general societal survey that has yet been attempted.



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

L. L. BERNARD

## I. THE THEOLOGICAL PHASE

OUR PARTIAL reconstruction of the thought of men of the past with reference to society has shown us that the theory of social progress is relatively a modern doctrine. The lateness of the arrival of this theory is due primarily to the way in which man conceived his world morally. The early human lot was on the whole an unpleasant one. Man suffered from what the late Professor Patten has called a pain economy.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of definite knowledge of natural processes and without inventions to enable primitive man to cope successfully with nature, he was the constant prey of accident and of unseen and undefined forces. His struggle for existence, at least through large portions of his life, was a bitter one, bound in the end to result disastrously for him. If he survived insects, rodents, wild beasts, germs, starvation, in childhood and youth, and found himself strong enough to cope with a hard world in the flower of his manhood, he was sure to succumb to disease or violence in his age. To the primitive savage, it has been supposed, by some writers, death from old age was so unusual that he lacked the concept and regarded all death as the result of witchcraft or violence.<sup>2</sup>

It is not strange that under such circumstances he conceived of his world as evil and as controlled by evil.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it peculiar that, when he advanced to that stage of intelligence and initiative in which he sought to control his world instead of merely endure it, he should have endeavored to exercise this control by playing off the forces of evil against each other. These reputed forces of evil were his personifications of natural phenomena which had affected him unfavorably and

of the emotions which he had seen expressed by others, and out of these he created the evil spirits and powers, in prototype at least, as we know them. By means of magic he sought to control these powers of evil and make them work for him instead of against him. The religions and rituals of primitive peoples are filled with practices and beliefs which show this fancied alliance between man and the demons or evil spirits, and the tradition and the practice have come down even to our own day in various forms of belief in bad luck, signs, witchcraft, ghosts, and that approach to a monotheistic concept of evil, the devil. An intelligence or a folk-belief which still personifies the concept of evil as a personal devil has not yet wholly divorced itself from the tradition descended from the early world of man, which, except possibly in some of the more favored Edens, must have been predominantly evil. But even in the Edens the spirit of evil hovered near and finally conquered.<sup>4</sup>

Even in the early world, however, some forces or circumstances favored man, and these he personified as spirits and powers of good. As he came through invention and knowledge the better to understand his world and to invent practical methods instead of magical ones of controlling it, and as his lot improved as a consequence, he created a new type of divinities, or at least enlarged the number of those of this type which had always existed—the beneficent powers, spirits, and gods. Early man personified all of his useful inventions, or at least the imputed powers that produced them, and created for them a patron spirit or deity. He could not yet grasp the power of his own intellect to perceive or create new mechanical devices or ideas. He had made no analysis of his own mental processes. He did not even know that he had a mind in the modern psychological sense. All those processes which we call mental (in so far as he was aware of them) and their products he conceived as the operation of spirits or of gods acting in or through him. His emotions and intellectual processes

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, easy for us to be blinded by the fallacy of the near in attributing to primitive man the same attitude we would have under similar hard circumstances. The statement here is that primitive man lived in a "pain economy," not that he knew he did so. And he developed the attitudes and interpretations, fears, and magic, which correspond to such an environment rather than the attitudes and interpretations which correspond to our own psycho-social environment.

<sup>2</sup> Such an explanation of death, however, need not necessarily have proceeded from the infrequency of death from "natural" causes. Early man explained practically all events as due to personality causes, which were in effect "supernatural" causes.

<sup>3</sup> Here again we must guard against interpreting the primitive mind wholly in terms of our own. Early man conceived of his world as controlled by what we call evil, when considered in contrast to a good of which he had little or no experience.

<sup>4</sup> See G. M. Stratton's *Anger: Its Religious and Moral Significance* for an interesting and enlightening presentation of the importance of the concept of evil in some of the great world religions.

(when he objectified them) were viewed as such spirit manifestations. His very words for mental processes, spirits, etc., show this relationship. Minerva as intelligence, Ceres as fruitfulness, Vulcan as the artificer, Prometheus as forethought, the muses and the graces, are a few of the instances of early man's tendency to people his world with friendly powers personified from natural processes or mental experiences as the "pleasure economy" grew at the expense of the "pain economy," and as he became sufficiently intelligent to think in general concrete concepts of personality or myths.<sup>5</sup> Always striving for relief from conditions which limited and oppressed him, his imagination achieved a degree of freedom which was not possible for the more physical attributes of his nature. His imagination created the ideals which he lacked in realization—divinities (divine because they transcended him) which had the qualities that he was never able to unite in a single human personality, but which might be abstracted and projected from what he saw partly realized in men in general. These products of the folk imagination—these ideal men and women, or animals, created as "wishes" and as compensations for his own too obvious defects and limitations—were perfect according to their use and the standards of the times. Here was wisdom, power and strength, cunning, courage, love, hate, such as no man had ever attained; or at least no man in that imperfect and degenerate age, as he conceived it.

He had the tradition that these beings had once walked with man, that they had feasted and conversed, loved and bred, with man. He was their handiwork, or perhaps even their progeny. And the remote and distant world which served both the gods and man was a world worthy of the gods. It also was their handiwork and like them it was perfect of its kind—free from danger, hunger, disease, and death. This was the golden age. But now man was in misery, when once he was in paradise with the gods. Why? Being without history, and having only a poetic or very theological, instead of a literal, tradition, he could not recall his sordid past as we can reconstruct it. This mythic world was consequently the creation

of the logic of his imagination, of the yearning of his nature after perfection, as were the gods, but with a difference. The gods he created as the projection of his hopes and the personifications of his ideals. The world of the golden age was in part the result of an attempt to justify the gods (the projection of his better and ideal self) whom he had created and whom he thought had created him. Being good and wise and perfect, they could have created only a good world, one in which happiness predominated over misery.

He placed this world in the past instead of in the future because his powers of projective thinking, of method invention,<sup>6</sup> had not yet been sufficiently developed for him to construct a wholly projected conceptual world of physical and social organization without some skeleton of fact. The past has the structural nucleus or thread of tradition to support it; but the future had for early man no core of reality and he could not create one for it upon which he could hang his longings and hopes until either he had peopled another world with gods capable of eternal life and worked out a system or concept of immortality for himself as the accepted servant or friend of the immortal divinities, or he had achieved the power of conceptual projection of the present world into a future or improved phase of the present social order. This last achievement is in itself the attainment of the concept of progress in the concrete. Man was not able to think of the future of the group or region in which he lived in terms of social organizations differing from his present until he was able to invent, by means of projective thinking, ideal systems of social order. Such systems were at first necessarily theological in character. That is, they were conceived of as the work of the now departed gods who would return to earth to perform this service to man or send their prophets to accomplish this end for them. Such a future social order was not then dreamed of as the individual or collective secular achievement of man.

The invention of ideal or divine personalities is a simpler process, because it involves only concrete personality concepts with which he has long been familiar. But the invention of a social system, even when conceived of as the work of super-

<sup>5</sup> It was not yet possible for him to think in abstract and impersonal concepts of physical, mental, and moral forces of a general sort. This stage had to await the coming of writing, or highly technical symbolisms, which finally gave birth to impersonal science.

<sup>6</sup> See the author's article, "Invention and Social Progress," *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, July, 1923.



human personalities or gods, involves much more abstractness of thought and ability to conceive of society as an intangible whole than pre-civilized man possessed.<sup>7</sup> We see examples of an approach to this process of conceptualization of an improved mundane society as a whole in the visions of the Hebrew prophets, but even here the improvements are for the most part of a patch work character. Only a few of the biblical writers caught the vision of an entire new heaven and earth; and they, for the most part, came late. A non-theological or secular view of a reorganized and humanly controlled society of the future had to await a new symbolism and the logical or quasi-logical manipulation of something very similar to principles of social contacts and organization, a process of analysis and synthesis which does not occur in man's thinking before the time of the Greek philosophers known as the Sophists and the three great Greeks who followed them—Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. It was these who first attained to an abstraction and objectification of secular or non-personified social uniformities as processes beyond the grasp of the senses, such as are indicated by our words convention, custom, tradition, fashion, public opinion. Consequently in very early times no ideal age is projected for the future, and the golden age of the gods, which is located in the past, is characterized in the most general and subjective and affective terms. It is an age of happiness, without death and without labor or want. Nothing is said about social organization, for the concept of social organization scarcely exists as an abstraction. It is only a concrete unanalyzed reality, the source of much pain and labor and suffering, under a despotic or a monarchical system. Even the group or the state itself is conceived of by the ignorant mainly in terms of the personality of patron spirit or god or leader or king.

The gods having been created by the folk mind as the projection of its longings and desires, as part compensations for the vaguely realized inadequacy of their lives, it is inevitable that these divinities should have been a part of their own

natures, cast in glorified images of themselves and related to them perhaps by generation and consanguinity, or at least by bonds of sympathy and common tradition. Their contacts with these divine creations of their imagination are necessarily all in the past. The gods themselves were not created all at once or in a single generation, but they grew up with the folk tradition. The stories of the contacts of ancestors with the gods were in part mythical accounts of the growth of the personalities of the gods themselves. Since the conceptual or generalized explanation of their own general concepts and history as a people must be in terms of concrete personalities and not in terms of principles, it can be only mythological and theological in form. Thus they created their gods as they created their mythical history, and both are pictures of what they would have wished to be and do, if they could only have freed their imaginations from the strangle-hold of custom and conformity and have found words and abstract ideas in which to project an ideal toward the future and describe it. But personality looks backward toward the concrete events which have occurred, while principles can be projected into the synthetic organization of society as it is to be. Myths, the language of personality contacts struggling to set themselves free into abstract principles of social relationships, can but look backwards. They are descriptions of events as they are transformed by desire before accurate tradition or written history holds them down to the prosaic reality of facts. It is but a step over from myth to prophecy, which describes a vision of things that are to be in the language of action in process of accomplishment. But the minds which conceived the golden age as that of the comradeship of gods and men had not yet reached this new mode of thinking.

Thus the gods and the golden age were placed in the past, although both manifestly represented aspirations, for which there was no symbolism of language or thought with which to conceive them for what they were and to project them into the future as objects for realization. To explain man's present plight in the light of his supposed brilliant past—which was really his unconscious wish or desire for the future, expressed in the mythological language and symbolism of the past, the only projective symbolism which primitive

<sup>7</sup> This does not imply that primitive man may not even earlier have wished for or even have hoped for some improvement in his condition as the result of the intervention of a god or of gods. But such hoped for improvement was conceived in terms of the modification of some particular maladjustment or, at most, set of maladjustments and not as a new social order as a whole. Such a synthetic view of social improvement was beyond early man's powers.

man possessed—it was necessary to create another myth, the myth of man's regression. The good and friendly gods being good and wise, and man being happy, the golden age would not have been abandoned by him by choice. The fault lay with the powers of evil which either, as in some theologies, fought with the powers of good and conquered them and thus drove their human or mortal followers into exile and misery,<sup>8</sup> or the spirits of evil fought within the human breast for its mastery and caused man to betray and abandon his true protectors for the sake of some forbidden or transient pleasure or power.<sup>9</sup> Angered by the ungratefulness and unfaithfulness of man, the gods cast him off and closed the gates of paradise against him. The myth of the regression or fall is a secondary or explanatory myth, while the myths of the gods and of the golden age are myths of aspiration and unself-conscious longing in a prearticulate age, an age before man could conceive or formulate his desires as aims in the literal symbolism of projective descriptions which are capable of being followed as projected plans or programs.

The earlier theories or myths of regression appear to place little or no guilt upon man for his misfortune. These myths which make man the victim of the defeat of his beneficent protecting gods by the powers of evil, of course do not assess the blame upon man himself; he is a pawn of powers greater than he, and that only is good or evil which brings him happiness or suffering. But as there awakens in the human consciousness some abstract conception of the value and meaning of human relationships or organization, the failure to remain true to the commandments of the good powers in spite of the insistent temptations of the evil powers becomes more than a misfortune or personal disloyalty and develops into a sense of social or ethnic sin. Disloyalty to the god, a concrete personal relationship, expands into disloyalty to the group and its prospects, which are symbolized by the deity or deities, and social conscience is born. Thus the regression in circumstances or fortune broadens into regression of morals or of character. There is now a myth of a spiritual fall or conquest. Thus a moral world

has come into existence. The moral-social world is becoming aware of itself in other than mythological language and subconscious symbols.

With the increasing moralization of the world, which accompanies a growth in the power to generalize and to project wishes and ideals in concrete descriptive, instead of merely mythological or figurative, symbolism, the outlook upon the world becomes humanized and softened. The sternness and autocracy of the patriarchal organization and control is toned down into a brotherhood concept which transcends the custom limitations of the old system of retaliation, tooth for a tooth, and wergeld. The concept of vengeance is transmuted into the concept of the prodigal son. The gods also partake of the change manifested in the human character, and they are made over into kindlier powers who can forgive as well as punish, or who will accept sacrificial compensation or atonement for the traditional disloyalty described in the myth of regression or the fall as punished without mercy. The children of men now dare to hope for reinstatement into the conditions of the golden age. Their thinking has developed a symbolism of more or less abstract description which permits the projection of the ideals or wishes and desires into the future instead of keeping them veiled and repressed as descriptions of the past.

At first the reinstatement is conceived as personally mediated, as due to the intercession or intervention of a god. Sometimes he struggles directly with the powers of evil and wins. Sometimes he is an offspring of the old gods and pleads for his younger and outcast brothers. Sometimes also he comes to the degraded people themselves to lead them back by precept and example to a sense of righteousness and truth as it was in the age of innocence before the fall. Sometimes it is only a prophet who appears to deliver the instructions of the god who remains in his heaven. In any case man is, at this stage of his intellectual development, far short of a secular concept of progress, in which he would look forward to a progressive betterment of his condition through the accumulation and utilization of a knowledge of natural processes, or the data and methods of science. The theory of progress, like the earlier theory of regression, which still commands a partial and occasional accep-

<sup>8</sup> See Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>9</sup> This view of conflict with evil on a spiritual plane appeared, of course, later than the one mentioned in the preceding sentence and represents a more psychological interpretation of man's fall.



tance, is predominantly mythological. Through the intervention of personalities man regressed or fell, and only through the intervention of personalities will he be able to progress, or secure reinstatement.

The myth or theory of the reinstatement itself takes on at least two general forms. In the earlier and less abstract explanatory myth, the reinstatement is to take place on this earth, either in the region formerly inhabited during the golden age, or in some coveted land possessing those characteristics and resources dear to the fallen people.<sup>10</sup> The restoration may be complete or incomplete. A full reinstatement would of course involve a return of the divinities to their old abode and their friendly intercourse with or watch-care over their people. So complete a revolution is rarely hoped for, except by the most faithful and the relatively naive. To most of the people, by the time they reach that degree of intellectual advancement which enables them to graft a theory of progress through reinstatement upon the old theory of regression, the theory of regression has come to be recognized in some degree, either consciously or (more likely) subconsciously, as a myth or allegorical explanation. They are likely to be content with a prophetic leader who will merely interpret the will of the distant gods and guide them to an era of material prosperity and unblemished faith. As the myth of the golden age recedes yet farther into the realm of tradition and material and spiritual conditions still fail to improve, and as the prophets who come do not prove up to expectations, the hope of reinstatement in this world fades and hope and expectation are transferred to an existence hereafter. There the reinstatement may possibly be complete and man, the fallen, may again live in the very presence of the gods and of the elect. Life here on earth is looked upon as a test of fitness, a form of penance in preparation for the life to come. Though the gods will not return, nor send a leader, they will at least send for the faithful when the prescribed period of punishment for the original unfaithfulness or regression has been fulfilled.

<sup>10</sup> Psychologically and emotionally, although not logically, the devotion of some Jews to Zionism partakes of this affective reinstatement attitude rather than of a rational social program.

Such is the theological notion of progress and regression. It is a theory largely based on myth, because its imagery is that of personality contacts and causation. Abstract symbolization has not yet sufficiently developed to permit the expression of man's hopes in concrete descriptive language or the projection of them into the future as a secular social program. His earliest theories of the gods are tied up with his traditions, which are perpetuated in myths, and look to the past instead of to the future. The ideal state of man, the wished for order, the society of gods and men, is therefore placed in the past and the myth of regression is invented to explain man's present condition. But with the growth of experience and the powers of literal and descriptive projection of desires as ideals and aims, the golden age is gradually transferred in the philosophic imagination to the future, under the fiction of reinstatement. This takes place without the conscious loss of the myth of regression, although in reality it is decaying in the subconsciousness or remains largely as a lurid warning and reproach to the recalcitrant and unfaithful. The concept of progress, in its theological or personalistic form, does not reach a high stage of development. It is hampered by the limitations of the conception of divine leadership, of a program externally imposed. And in its pathological form, arising out of disappointed hopes and a concept of a world hopelessly sunk in evil and sin, the attainment of progress is transferred to another life in another world, while the limits of progress in this world are placed at a preparation for the next.

But even this theological concept of progress tends to become secular through the teachings of the prophets. While they use the language symbolisms of theology and speak in terms of personality, the burden of their message—at least of the prophets who preach the message of social righteousness rather than the formalism of the law—is a social one which emphasizes quite as much a purification of the ways of man to man as of the ways of man to the gods. The assumption of the all-seeing eye of the divinity back of each prescribed human relationship and obligation, which is so real and vivid in the imagination of early man, comes to be largely a symbol of the social approval and disapproval manifested by group opinion busy with the enforcement of con-

vention and custom. This is particularly true of the thinking classes,<sup>11</sup> although of course the masses still retain their belief in actual personalities back of the dictates of custom or the subconscious induction which passes for revelation<sup>12</sup> in their hearing. Thus, gradually, just as the spokesman of the new word or revelation evolves from god to prophet and thus becomes secularized, so likewise do the content and form of the message also tend to become secular and social rather than theological and mystical. The later Hebrew prophets, for example, were in many cases primarily leaders in social reform, although they retained theological expressions because of their customary sanctions for the people. Jesus preaches the commandment of brotherhood as well as that of reverence for divinity. The virtues which he emphasizes primarily are those of this life and refer mainly to right human relationships. His chief object of criticism was the dead legalism of the theologians and of the theocratic hierarchy. His world is largely secular, but it is wreathed in a wraith of mysticism, and the child-like appeal to "our father" comes to the fore in times of trouble or of great emotionalism.

But even these prophets have no complete or consistently organized vision of a social order as a goal for their striving. They urge change for the better, but the transformation sought is a personal one. They see personalities with distinctness but they cannot yet grasp the unity of

the group as a whole except through such symbols as the will or the commands of the gods. It is a reflected unity which they see, the projection of the father or master symbol into society or the ethnic group as a whole. They are lacking in language to describe a non-personal unity of society. As yet they have no terms for the abstract facts of convention, tradition, sympathy, public opinion, and the like. They see all the members of the group, which is a chosen people, making a coadaptive adjustment to the divinity as do the children to their father or servants to their master.<sup>13</sup> They cannot yet conceive of a social order as an abstract program, because they lack abstract symbols with which to describe it. They think in terms of progress, but their thinking is either in terms of individual subjective improvement or reformation of character, or, if it is social in its outlook, it is conceived mystically and as the reflection of a divine personality or other mystical power. The language of theology can state no general theory of progress without borrowing from the metaphysical and scientific categories yet to be developed.

Already, however, long before the theological theory of progress has supplanted the theological theory of regression, a new theory of progress, the metaphysical, has attained, in the more adventurous minds of the philosophers, a high degree of development.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Wallis points out in his *Sociological Study of the Bible*, that the phrase, "Thus saith the Lord" was among the ancient Hebrew prophets largely or wholly a formal sanction and did not necessarily imply a claim to personal communication from God. The figurative meaning of such phrases is also emphasized by Maimonides in his *Guide to the Perplexed*.

<sup>12</sup> For the significance of revelation as a form of subconscious induction, see the author's "Objective Viewpoint in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. xxv, pp. 320, 321.

<sup>13</sup> The totem seems to have a similar mystical religio-social significance. It is a sort of objective symbolization of the group spirit or interest or power. It may be conceived as either protector or co-partner, as indeed may the gods also. But the gods are of a higher order of evolution conceptually and are more personalized than totems. Perhaps we should say that gods are personalized totems, just as natural law is depersonalized on a still higher conceptual plane. There, of course, are animal and fetishistic totems of a lower order, in which the imputed personality or essential principle is other than human in character.

## SOCIOLOGY AND ETHICS: A GENETIC VIEW OF THE THEORY OF CONDUCT

HARRY ELMER BARNES

### I. SOME PROLEGOMENA TO THE CONCEPTION OF CONDUCT AS A SCIENCE

1. *Methods of Approach to Knowledge.* Much has been written on the contrast between the primitive and the modern mind. The older anthropologists and cultural historians tended to

represent the thought of early man and backward peoples as quite different even in kind from that of citizens of contemporary states. More extensive and scientific study has, however, quite changed our opinions on such matters. It would seem that man's neuro-psychic equipment has



been much the same for the last twenty thousand years, and the general nature of his cerebration has changed little in this period. The differences in thinking since the Magdalenian period are due chiefly to an alteration of cultural conditions and the accumulation of knowledge. The thinking of primitive man, being unchecked by scientific fact and based to a very large degree upon imagination and intuition, inevitably tended towards the building up of a vast body of myth, superstition and tradition, which was readily accepted as fact and looked upon as a revelation from the supernatural world.<sup>1</sup>

We have as the second great stage in the human approach to the acquisition and exposition of truth the reliance upon rhetoric, or the trust in the efficacy of words. This was doubtless a development from the incantations of the primitive shamans. It reached its highest development in the post-Periclean Græco-Roman world, and found its most valiant champion and systematizer in Quintilian.<sup>2</sup>

Synchronous with the origins of the rhetorical shibboleth came the rise of the logical technique, which was shaped by Aristotle. This provided a guide for disciplined and accurate thinking but no method for the acquisition of new knowledge. As much as mythology and rhetoric it rested upon premises and assumptions of a wholly gratuitous and *a priori* sort, and was quite as impotent as either in the matter of exploring the mysteries of the cosmos, nature, human conduct and social relationships. It was most extensively utilized in the educational system of the Middle Ages, and modern thought was in part initiated by Francis Bacon's famous assault upon Scholasticism in the name of the scientific method and the kingdom of man.<sup>3</sup>

The fourth and final stage in the development of human methods of searching for fact has been the rise of scientific and critical thought. This rests upon no assumption other than that reliable knowledge can be collected only by the observation of the commonplace facts and occurrences of nature, their subsequent classification, continued experimentation and testing, and the tentative

formulation of scientific laws. While there are doubtless many ways in which the technique of the modern scientist can be improved, there is little probability that we shall be able to advance beyond the concepts and methods of the natural scientist in our exploration of the mysteries of the universe, valuable as the philosopher may be in the process of aiding in our assimilation and interpretation of the work of the scientist.<sup>4</sup>

In meeting the problems of modern life we still employ all of the above modes of attack and solution. In the range of science and technology, and to a considerable extent in industry, we utilize the exacting methods of natural science.<sup>5</sup> To a very large degree, however, contemporary business methods rest upon rhetorical exercises and devices, much of the alleged hard-headedness being but a rationalization of verbal exorcism.<sup>6</sup> In politics rhetoric is, as it has been for milleniums, the chief expedient in maintaining the ascendancy of certain sects, parties and classes. Words, in coöperation with various forms of symbolism, serve to delude mankind into accepting as revealed truth the most absurd anachronisms and imbecilities which are represented as the tried and impeccable wisdom of the ages.<sup>7</sup> In religion and ethics the approach is more primitive still. Supernaturalism reigns supreme, and whatever supplementary utilization may be made of logic and rhetoric is merely for the purpose of dignifying and rationalizing primitive illusions and spontaneously accepted dictates of the herd.<sup>8</sup> That these may have had great disciplinary and cohesive value in the past no informed student will deny, but they are today the leading obstacles in the way of a rational and efficient reorganization of society.<sup>9</sup>

2. *The Genesis of Ethical Codes.* The manner in which moral codes actually develop has been admirably described, among others, by Trotter

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. II; K. Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*.

<sup>2</sup> T. Veblen, *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*, Chaps. i-ii; Slosson and Caldwell, *Science Remaking the World*; F. S. Marvin, ed., *Science and Civilization*, esp. Chaps. vii-xii.

<sup>3</sup> T. Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*; and *The Engineers and the Price System*; W. Feather, "The King of Loafers," in *American Mercury*, October, 1924.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, Chaps. vii-viii; W. B. Hale, *The Story of Style*; H. L. Mencken, in *Civilization in the United States*, pp. 21ff.

<sup>5</sup> T. V. Smith, "The Bases of Bryanism," in *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1923; R. H. Givler, *The Ethics of Hercules*, Chap. viii; and any Catholic apology.

<sup>6</sup> W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*.

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Part III; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, pp. 160ff; H. O. Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, pp. 34ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. E. Taylor, *Aristotle*; M. de Wulf, *A History of Medieval Philosophy*; H. E. Barnes, "The Historical Background of the Philosophy of Francis Bacon," in *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1924.



and Sumner. In the process of social evolution one of the chief requirements of survival has ever been group cohesion and discipline, which have never been secured except at the price of unreasoning conformity to the commands of the group.<sup>10</sup> The herd has ever been savage in its punishment of the variate and non-conformist, and we may be sure that much of the potential originality and inventiveness of the race has been eliminated through the extinction of the more daring and independent members of the group. These codes of conduct which the herd has enforced with such rigor and savagery have never been carefully thought out or experimentally tested and verified modes of behavior, but rather the crude products of superstition and the trial-and-error methods whereby primitive man was able to effect a working adjustment to his environment and perpetuate his kind.<sup>11</sup>

That superstition and accident, elaborated into beliefs and convictions, have normally been the basis of the manners and customs of humanity is amply attested to by the great diversity of attitudes and practices on the part of mankind in every range of human conduct and behavior.<sup>12</sup> But primitive man regards all of his institutions and defensive and justificatory superstitions, though actually slowly and clumsily fabricated by man himself, as the product of divine creation and a special and condescending revelation. As Sumner well puts it: "The folkways are habits of the individual and customs of the society which arise from efforts to satisfy needs; they are intertwined with goblinism and demonism and primitive notions of luck, and so they win traditional authority. They become regulative for succeeding generations and take on the character of a social force . . . At every turn we find evidence that the mores can make anything right and prevent the condemnation of anything."<sup>13</sup> It is in this manner that there arise those guides and standards of conduct which the average person designates as "the old, sturdy virtues of manhood and womanhood," "the tried wisdom of the ages," "the sagacity of the fathers," "the enduring and permanent foundations of our institu-

tions," and other rhetorical elaborations. Only the historical and sociological approach to the study of ethical codes can make completely clear the absurdity of such a view.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time, it does not follow, as some would seem to believe, that all customs thus acquired are necessarily unscientific or harmful. The evolutionary and selective processes in time tend to eliminate those groups which have the least efficient and less adequate types of codes and institutions.<sup>15</sup> The fact that all previous civilizations have disintegrated may legitimately lead to the query as to whether the evolutionary process has not proved that all earlier mores, considered collectively, were inadequate and led ultimately to the downfall of the cultures with which they were associated, even though certain special types of customs within the general complex may accidentally have been remarkably scientific and conducive to social strength and cohesion.<sup>16</sup>

One of the very best proofs of the fundamentally supernatural basis and objective of our current ethical doctrine is the fact that we supposedly derive it from an alleged sacred book which is held to embody commands directly delivered by God. Hebrew and Christian history, together with biblical criticism, have, of course, proved that these ideas have been but the product of the folkways and mores of the primitive Hebrews, in the case of the Old Testament, and the personal views of religious reformers of all grades from Jesus to Paul.<sup>17</sup> And it is equally apparent to students of history that many of the ethical doctrines now in vogue have been the product of post-Apostolic mores, which can be justified on the basis of Scriptural sanction only by allegory and the most heroic exegesis.<sup>18</sup> Further, the basic purpose of moral conduct has been held by orthodox Christians to be the securing of certain entry into immortal bliss after death, and not the assurance of a happier and more efficient life in society during one's mundane

<sup>10</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*; Givler, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, Chaps. ii-iii; F. H. Giddings, *The Responsible State*, Chaps. i-ii; *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, Chaps. i, viii, x-xii, xiv, xv.

<sup>12</sup> H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History*; P. V. N. Myers, *History as Past Ethics*.

<sup>13</sup> S. Reinach, *Orpheus*; L. Wallis, *A Sociological Study of the Bible*; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*; F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*; P. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*.

<sup>14</sup> Myers, *op. cit.*; Sumner, *op. cit.*; H. L. Mencken, *A Book of Prefaces*, pp. 197-283; H. O'Higgins, *The American Mind in Action*.

<sup>10</sup> Trotter, *op. cit.*; W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*; G. Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, Chap. iii.

<sup>11</sup> Trotter, *op. cit.*, Chaps. i-ii; Sumner, *op. cit.*, Chaps. i-ii, xv; J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, Chap. i, viii.

<sup>12</sup> Sumner, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

<sup>13</sup> Sumner, *op. cit.*, Chaps. i, xv.

existence. Indeed, the whole issue of the improvement of earthly society was regarded with disfavor by the great Christian theologians, lest absorption in an earthly utopia divert attention and interest from the heavenly utopia and end in the loss of immortal souls.<sup>19</sup>

Directly connected with this metaphysical and supernatural conception which exists in regard to the derivation and nature of moral codes is the prevailing illusion as to how man becomes conscious of right and wrong in conduct, and is able to seek the former and avoid the latter. The orthodox and popular view is that there is some metaphysical entity called the "conscience" implanted in every breast, whose "still, small voice" reveals God's uniform, invariable and immutable will to man on all questions from shooting craps to casting his vote for president of the United States. It was, of course, always difficult to harmonize this conception with the observed fact that in certain areas this inner conviction led some to prepare for a respectable career by head-hunting and others in a different part of the globe by committing to memory the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church. Nor was it easily possible to explain why God allowed the small voice to speak quite a different language to individuals in the same general cultural group. The key to the dilemma was, of course, the hypothesis of the diabolical seduction of those whose views and conduct diverged seriously from those approved by the majority of the herd.<sup>20</sup>

This untenable metaphysic has been replaced in modern dynamic psychology by the concept of the censor. From earliest infancy the contact of the child with parents, relatives, friends and associates brings to him a varied but potent body of information, and inculcates ideas, concepts and attitudes which wholly and solely determine his notions of what is right and wrong. It is in this way that the ideas and practices of the great and little herds with which the individual comes in contact are translated into individual belief and action. There is little probability that our convictions as to right and wrong thus derived bear any relation to the scientific facts in the circumstances, as herd opinion and activities have never yet been founded upon scientific investigation and

statistical measurement and verification, but they do represent what our herds believe to be right, and hence constitute a practical guide to life in a given community. The still, small voice, then, appears upon adequate investigation to be not the voice of God, but, as Professor Robinson has facetiously expressed it, "the still, small voice of the herd."<sup>21</sup>

3. *The Modern Sex Complex.* The primitive nature of our *Ethik* can be further illustrated by brief reference to the issues in regard to sex in the current code, particularly because morality is most generally considered today to be purely a matter of formal and external sexual purity—a man may be regarded as a pillar of society and the church, and a model citizen, though he may have accumulated a fortune through stock-gambling and railroad wrecking, has his fortune invested in tax-exempt securities, and is notoriously lacking in sympathy for his less fortunate fellow-men, provided only he shows sufficient sagacity to prevent himself from being publicly detected in making love to the maid or kissing his stenographer.<sup>22</sup>

This curiously narrow and inadequate view of morality has doubtless grown up primarily as a result of the economic ideals and compensatory psychology and ethics of modern Puritanism and capitalism, and has been retained and fiercely defended because of its basic importance for the modern adherents to the theory of business enterprise, but it is not so simple a matter to explain the nature and existence of our sex mores as a whole. They doubtless go back to primitive mysticism and superstition, and to the Jewish mores, where there was developed that pernicious concept "naked and ashamed," which has been a most damaging obstacle to both art and science, the notions of male ascendancy and domination, and a general condemnation of the æsthetic outlook upon life.<sup>23</sup> Christ's own doctrines were in

<sup>19</sup> Sumner, *op. cit.*; Trotter, *op. cit.*; J. H. Robinson, "The Still Small Voice of the Herd," in *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1917, pp. 312-19; W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*, pp. 234ff.

<sup>20</sup> H. O'Higgins, *The American Mind in Action*; G. B. Shaw, Introduction to S. & B. Webb, *English Prisons Under Local Government*, pp. lxx-lxxvii; G. Myers, *The History of Great American Fortunes*. This is frequently illustrated by the disastrous effect upon the subsequent career of a leading business man of a notorious divorce or breach of promise suit.

<sup>21</sup> There is an admirable presentation of the case against the Jewish ethic on the sex issue in Harold Frederic's *Damnation of Theron Ware*. We, of course, freely recognize the heroic efforts of Flo Ziegfeld, the Schuberts, and Morris Gest to compensate for the defects of their ancestors.

<sup>19</sup> W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories: Ancient and Medieval*, Chap. vi.

<sup>20</sup> Givler, *op. cit.*, pp. 156ff.



most ways a negation of the prevalent Jewish mores, but in this respect his views had little influence upon historic Christianity. The most important influence in the Apostolic age was that of St. Paul, who did much more to shape the Christian attitude towards sex than Christ and all the other apostles.<sup>24</sup> His views were given a further impetus by the purification cults that flourished in the later Roman empire, as well as by the ascetic tendencies of the neo-Platonists.<sup>25</sup> The final touch was added by Augustine, whose notions on sex were the product of over compensation for a sense of guilt concerning a youth of the most notable sexual prowess. So far did he go that he attempted a reformulation of the concept of original sin, representing it to be the beginning of intercourse between the sexes, the responsibility for which, of course, rested with Eve. Woman, thus, became the cause of the fall of man and the miseries of the race, and sex was the chief human weakness exploited by the devil in diverting the faithful Christian from his legitimate and salutary spiritual exercises.<sup>26</sup> The Jewish, apostolic, patristic and Augustinian attitudes combined to produce that most notable of all great collective flights from reality in the field of sex, namely, monasticism, which resulted ultimately and inevitably in those orgies described centuries ago by Boccaccio and more recently in great detail by Henry Charles Lea.<sup>27</sup>

The Protestant Reformation was in part a reaction against this situation, but Puritanism, which represented the chief results of the Reformation on the sex mores, came to be but an exploitation of some of the more ascetic doctrines of the Bible and Paul as a compensation for the practices of the new economy and capitalism—sex bigotry and the impurity-complex were seized upon as a compensation for economic chicanery. Its value was soon seen by the new *bourgeois* class, and, consciously or unconsciously, it has been cherished and treasured as a basic phase and foundation of the sex complex in

modern society.<sup>28</sup> This *Ethik* was rationalized and defended by Immanuel Kant through his exploitation of remarkable epistemological and dialectical acumen and profundity to justify his own physical frailty and extremely limited life experiences.<sup>29</sup> Along with these historical, sociological, theological and economic factors in the savagery and primitivity of the conventional attitude towards sex must be put the operation of the sentiment of the invidious, and the compensation for and justification of, one's own unrealized ambitions or lack of success in the sexual realm. These latter elements flourish with unusual virulence in the psychic constitution of the average purist and vice-crusader.<sup>30</sup>

The disastrous results of this barbarity and imbecility in regard to the handling of sex questions in present day society can best be made clear by a contrast of the vast amount which we pay for such stupidity with the slight or wholly dubious gain therefrom. We have a great number of densely populated state and private hospitals for the insane, which are filled for the most part with types that are the result of an unintelligent and uninformed attitude towards sex. The chief types of functional insanity, the psychoneuroses, dementia-præcox, maniac-depressive insanity and paranoia are caused primarily by family attachments and sexual difficulties, and would be, to a large degree, preventable in a society where sex education of an intelligent sort was possible. Paresis, the most important type of organic psychosis, and locomotor-ataxia, the most prevalent form of organic neurosis, are most frequently caused by syphilis, which is an easily preventable disease and could be speedily eradicated if it were not for the opposition to venereal prophylaxis produced by the operation of the impurity-complex. Then there is the large class of epileptics, which could be greatly reduced by adequate sex-education and redirection, together with a rational system of eugenics. Further, there are the vast number of feeble-minded which constitute a great social, economic

<sup>24</sup> G. S. Hall, *Jesus the Christ in the Light of Modern Psychology*; F. A. Henry, *Jesus and the Christian Religion*, Parts I, III; O'Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4; F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*, Chap. i.

<sup>25</sup> F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*; T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*.

<sup>26</sup> *The City of God*, Book XIV.

<sup>27</sup> Boccaccio, *The Decameron*; H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*.

<sup>28</sup> P. Smith, *The Age of Reformation*, pp. 724-9; R. H. Tawney, "Sixteenth Century Religious Thought," in *Journal of Political Economy*, 1923-4; A. M. Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*; O'Higgins, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Givler, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-62; E. C. Moore, *Protestant Thought Since Kant*, pp. 47-50; M. C. Otto, *Things and Ideals*, pp. 61ff; R. Falckenberg, *History of Modern Philosophy*, pp. 383-400.

<sup>30</sup> Mencken, as in footnote 18; O'Higgins, Chap. vi; C. Ramus, "Why Censors Enjoy Their Jobs," in *Physical Culture*, April, 1923; A. Tridon, *Psychoanalysis and Behavior*, pp. 252-66.



and cultural burden, and whose presence in the population is due to the opposition of those afflicted with the impurity-complex to eugenics and sterilization. From these psychotic and defective types are also recruited the majority of the criminal classes. And there are huge numbers of neurotic and psycho-neurotic individuals in society, many of them persons of potentially superior intellectual capacity, whose energy is depleted and creative powers sapped by the repression of the most vital and essential of their physical and psychic urges beyond the point where the most heroic efforts at sublimation can solve the difficulties. To these must be added the ravages of venereal disease, which are actually probably more widespread and serious than is realized even by the average purist fanatic, but could be eliminated in a generation of concerted effort at venereal prophylaxis.<sup>31</sup> And there must not be forgotten the innumerable unhappy and degrading homes produced by the operation of divorce laws which rest for their justification solely upon the barbarous conventional sex mores—the condition pictured in Lewisohn's *Don Juan* is probably reproduced in an even more pathetic manner in more than a hundred thousand homes in contemporary America. Then there must not be overlooked the vast number of abortions performed each year by incompetent persons, or much less frequently by competent persons under serious handicaps and difficulties, which are accompanied by the aftermath of thousands of deaths and chronic female invalids; all of which are a result of the fact that our laws forbid contraceptive education and prevent competent physicians from executing simple and relatively harmless early abortions, and yet encourage them to preside with enthusiasm at the delivery of an idiot child by an imbecilic mother. Probably most important of all is the vast increase of population, particularly among the lower and least capable classes, progressively degrading the race and threatening the world with perpetual famine and misery, which is produced by a silly if monstrous

theological desire to create more souls, and the resulting opposition to the inculcation of the principles and methods of voluntary parenthood and selective fecundity.<sup>32</sup>

Such is the price which we pay for subservience to the sex mores of primitive Judaism, Catholicism and Puritanism; what are the gains to be balanced against these? It must probably be confessed that they are purely hypothetical. We assume them to be chiefly the monogamous family, the dignity of woman, and the reduction in the amount of sexual intercourse, which is in itself held to be a most vile and degrading evil. The monogamous family existed, however, long before Judaism or Christianity, and could probably be assumed to exist quite as frequently and on a far more rational basis even in a realm of complete so-called "free love."<sup>33</sup> It rests upon certain psychological factors quite independent of any external rules. And it is only the most naive person who believes that we actually have any complete prevalence of monogamy. Polygyny of a surreptitious sort is more prevalent among the American urban *bourgeoisie* today than it ever was in an institutionalized form in any Moslem land at any time in history. And only one most alarmingly ignorant of history would claim that woman has occupied a position of dignity and honor under Christianity at all comparable with that which was accorded to her in classical paganism. Christian civilization may have placed higher esteem upon the celibate woman than paganism, but it certainly degraded woman and sex in general. While Christ glorified woman and sex, few persons in history have had a more degrading concept of woman than that held by Paul and Augustine and forced upon the western world in the Christian mores. At the most, it can only be said that our law aids women in the matter of being more helpless to escape from enslavement to their husbands under a double-standard of morality. Finally, it is highly dubious if the actual amount of pre-conjugal and extra-marital sexual intercourse is less than it would be in an era of a rational solution of sexual

<sup>31</sup> Sands and Blanchard, *Abnormal Behavior*; W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*; White and Jelliffe, *Disease of the Nervous System*; W. J. Robinson, *Sexual Problems of Today*; Hoag and Williams, *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law*; W. E. Fernald, *The Burden of Feeble-Mindedness*; S. P. Davies, *The Social Control of the Feeble-Minded*; *Civilization in the United States*, pp. 427-56.

<sup>32</sup> S. J. Holmes, *The Trend of the Race*; E. M. East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*; M. Sanger, *The Pivot of Civilization*; W. J. Robinson, *Birth Control*.

<sup>33</sup> E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*; W. Lay, *A Plea for Monogamy*; M. M. Knight, "The Companionate and the Family," in *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 257-67; K. Anthony, *Civilization in the United States*, pp. 319-36.

problems. What is certain is that much of what now exists is degraded and robbed of all its ennobling and creative powers, and fraught with alarming dangers to the æsthetic sense, self-respect and physical health.<sup>34</sup>

It is, further, quite apparent to objective students of the problem that in the attempt to repress sex in Puritanic societies, the result has been to create a veritable sexual obsession on the part of the American population, just as monasticism produced the most sexually absorbed class in the history of mankind. The American vice-crusader is infinitely more obsessed in regard to the matter of sex than the most distinguished French or Viennese *roué*.<sup>35</sup> No attempt will be made to take up the matter of the good or evil of sexual intercourse among humans aside from the matter of conscious effort at procreation, but as an historian it might be worth while to ask the exponents of the impurity-complex to explain the fact that, without exception, the great periods of cultural efflorescence have been those characterized by a large amount of freedom in sex-relations, and that those of the greatest cultural degradation and decline have been accompanied with greater sex repression and purity, including even the far famed decline of the Roman empire, so long claimed by the sex-obscurantist and moralizing historian as an ample proof of the culturally degrading nature of sexual freedom.

The writer is not here concerned with suggesting any way out of this perplexity. He only contends that the above is not an unfair picture of the actual situation and the need for some thoughtful consideration of it. The outlook for progress in the attainment of a scientific attitude towards conduct is not very hopeful, for those who should be the leaders are often as much enmeshed in the current conventions as the most illiterate clerk or the most bigoted clergyman. An American sociologist of international reputation recently expressed himself as wholly satisfied with the current mores, as believing that they represent the result of the best conscious thought

and analysis of the ages, and contended that fear and ignorance on the part of youth are the only safe, and quite adequate, agencies for the control of sex. He avowed himself as fiercely opposed to a general dissemination of a knowledge of birth control methods and venereal prophylaxis. And two other equally distinguished sociologists were personally known by the writer to have opposed the appearance upon a program of the American Sociological Society of the most distinguished American sociological authority on the problems of sex, because he had been worsted by the Babbitts in attempting to carry out in practical life scientific theories of sex conduct which had been at least theoretically accepted and approved by these very sociologists in their writings. In the light of such facts who can find heart to condemn the bigotry and obscurantism of the average citizen?

Two thousand years of religion, philosophy and metaphysics have left us no reliable and definitive body of rules for conduct, either personal or social. A hundred years of sociology have done little better. Very few sociologists have presented views on conduct which have been other than their childish theologically derived prejudices, rationalized and elaborated in impressive and obscure nomenclature and expression. Some have generalized vaguely with a false air of scientific objectivity, but when they have become specific their views have not diverged markedly from the codes of conduct issued by the Catholic, Methodist and Baptist churches. Only in the still embryonic science of mental hygiene have we been favored with anything truly aspiring towards a science of efficient and healthful conduct. Even this has, however, been denounced by conventional philosophers and sociologists as obscene and degrading, even though advocates and exponents of mental hygiene have ever advised being as "good" as it is possible to be and still avoid being a neurotic crank or parasite, or an inmate of an insane asylum—certainly a not highly dissolute type of advice.<sup>36</sup>

4. *Science and Ethics.* The primitive nature of our conventional ethical codes and their rationalized defence and justification can probably

<sup>34</sup> See the literature on this subject reviewed by H. E. Barnes and W. C. Waterman in *Journal of Social Forces*, November, 1924, pp. 149-54; and Havelock Ellis, *Little Essays of Love and Virtue*.

<sup>35</sup> See references in footnote 30. Also E. C. Parsons, in *Civilization in the United States*, pp. 306-16.

<sup>36</sup> It will doubtless prove edifying along the lines of the above discussion to compare E. C. Hayes, *Sociology and Ethics* with E. R. Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*.



best be made clear by contrasting with them our attitude towards matters which have already been brought within the range of scientific analysis and control. If we are ill in any manner or degree, suffer from tooth-ache, have a leak in the plumbing, need a garage erected, require some overhauling of the motor of our car, need a new mainspring in our watch, or desire a radio-set installed, we at once are impressed with the reasonableness and necessity of conferring with a physician, surgeon, dentist, plumber, architect, mechanic, watchmaker, or electrician, but we are willing to accept as valid judgments and adequate guidance upon problems of conduct the standards enunciated, approved and enforced by the unscientifically trained clergyman, the Y. M. C. A. lecturer at large on sex and hygiene, the elderly "man on the street," and the illiterate gossip-mongering housewife.<sup>37</sup>

And the absurdity is even worse than it might seem from the above, for all the problems mentioned there as those for the solution of which we would normally have recourse to an expert scientist and technician are extremely simple, compared to the matter of scientifically determining and solving the problems of conduct. The sympathetic and wholehearted coöperation of a large number of scientific experts would be essential to arrive at any reliable verdict as to an ethical problem. Hence, there is no reason to assume that any promiscuous dicta uttered without any such solid foundation in research are any more certain to be correct than the conventional views, even though they may be diametrically opposed. There is relatively little to be gained in the replacement of a code of conduct based upon myth, tradition, convention and supernaturalism by one which is founded merely upon righteous indignation at the existing system. To formulate even the most tentative body of ethical doctrine which could be expected to possess any scientific validity, and might command the respect of a critical and sceptical intellect we should require the collaboration of highly intelligent and thoroughly trained representatives of chemistry, biology, physiology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, economics and history. To deal with the further problem of the application and enforcement of a code of conduct we would

need the aid of the political scientist and the students of jurisprudence, education and journalism.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps the most striking facts in regard to the determination of a scientific system of ethics are the wide range and diversity of the types of experts required and the fact that the two groups now accorded the custody of conduct determination—the metaphysical moralists and the clergymen—would not be consulted at all. It is infinitely more absurd to refer problems of conduct to the metaphysician and the theologian than it would be to go to a metaphysician for the removal of one's appendix or to have recourse to a theologian to have a chemical analysis performed. There is far greater probability that an average metaphysician would be a competent surgeon, or that a typical clergyman would be a well-trained chemist than that either would possess the highly modern and varied knowledge which would enable them to give specific and reliable information and advice on matters of conduct. And the corps of scientists who should consider the nature and content of a desirable ethical system would determine the whole matter solely with regard to man's human qualities in relation to his most happy and efficient association with his fellow beings while an inhabitant of this planet. The old notions of supernatural ethical revelations and sanctions for conduct, and the related view that the chief objective of right living is to secure an assured entry into a heavenly paradise, must be abandoned as anachronisms as antiquated and insupportable as magic, astrology or witchcraft.<sup>39</sup> This does not involve in any sense the problems, thus far purely philosophical and theological, of the existence of God or an immortal existence after death, for it would require a charge of overt inconsistency against God

<sup>37</sup> Books illustrating the bearing of these sciences upon the problems under discussion are: W. B. Cannon, *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage*; A. Keith, *Man*; J. A. Thomson, *What is Man?*; G. W. Crile, *The Origin and Nature of the Emotions*; L. Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality*; M. J. Rosenau, *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene*; R. Cabot, *Layman's Handbook of Medicine*; W. A. White, *Outlines of Psychiatry*; C. Beers, *The Mind That Found Itself*; W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*; J. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*; E. R. Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*; J. A. Hobson, *Work and Wealth*; J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*; A. N. Holcombe, *The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth*; R. Pound, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Law*; B. N. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process*; H. G. Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*; J. H. Robinson, *The Humanizing of Knowledge*; W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*; N. A. Crawford, *The Ethics of Journalism*.

<sup>38</sup> J. Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy; Human Nature and Conduct*; R. C. Givler, *The Ethics of Hercules*; W. M. Davis, "The Reasonableness of Science," in *Scientific Monthly*, August, 1922.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, pp. 7ff.



to assume that the most scientific method of living while a member of human society would meet his disapproval or prevent our rapid and successful translation to the empyrean area.

In attempting to formulate tentatively the essentials of an efficient and tenable ethical system it would be necessary first to consider man as an animal, to catalogue the various drives, instincts, impulses and motives which dominate him as a member of the biological world.<sup>40</sup> It would then be essential to investigate how far, with regard to man purely as an individual, the direct and immediate expression of these drives and impulses, with the satisfaction thus produced, is desirable and beneficial, and to what degree it is detrimental and should be obstructed, diverted or sublimated.<sup>41</sup> But man cannot be considered solely as an isolated animal existing in a primitive or pre-cultural age. He must be viewed as a member of the biological world.<sup>40</sup> It would then with intimate and complicated social relationships, obligations and responsibilities.

The decision as to what is best for him as an isolated animal must, then, be modified in the light member of an advanced and cultivated society ment. But it must still be remembered that whatever lessens man's organic efficiency and quality must necessarily ultimately weaken and undermine his culture and social institutions. A proper balance must be struck between those forms of conduct which secure the greatest amount of physical and psychic vigor and efficiency and those which will produce the most notable cultural achievements. That there may be some clash and necessity for compromise here cannot be doubted, but it is highly probable that there is actually far less of an antithesis than is usually assumed between those forms of conduct which advance the physical well-being of a nation and those which impel it on to higher ranges of cultural progress.<sup>42</sup> And our notions of efficiency in the determination of ethical conduct must be broad enough to include a consideration of the æsthetic and the dictates of "the true and beautiful." Indeed, there is much ground upon which to support the con-

tention of Shaftesbury that virtue and morals are a fine art, and that the æsthetic criteria of conduct are perhaps the most valid.<sup>43</sup> In fact, it will probably be desirable to give up entirely the old concept of *morals* or morality, and substitute the more accurate term descriptive of the new objective, namely, *morâle*. As Stanley Hall has put it: "If there is any chief end of man, any goal or destiny supreme over all others, it is simply this—to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the very tip-top of condition. This superhygiene is best designated as *Morâle*. It is the only truly divine power that ever was or will be. Hence it follows that *morâle* thus conceived is the one and only true religion of the present and the future, and its doctrines are the only true theology. Every individual situation and institution, every race, nation, class, or group is best graded as ascendant or decadent by its *morale*."<sup>44</sup>

And it will hardly be necessary to point out the fact that the future body of moral practice or foundation of *morâle* will be far more comprehensive than anything now prevailing. It will not be limited to formal correctness with respect to a primitive attitude towards sex, but will embrace the necessity of adhering to the principles of honesty, justice, decency, sympathy and kindness in general. Indeed, one may even go as far as to hold that it may actually imply the substitution of the ethical teachings of Jesus Christ for those of modern clergymen, vice-crusaders, and fanatical reformers. The ideals of the Epworth League, the Y. M. C. A., the W. C. T. U., the K. K. K., John Roach Stratton, William Jennings Bryan and John S. Sumner, may really be replaced by those of the Prophet of Nazareth. But if so, it will be because it happens that his views seem to accord with modern thought and science and not because they can be regarded as the product of special and unique divine revelation.

It is also probable that much more should be made of the distinction between the conventionally "moral" man and the man of honor, with the consequent setting up of the latter as the preferable ideal of the two. Mencken has well distinguished between these two types by his defini-

<sup>40</sup> J. A. Thomson, *What Is Man?*; A. Keith, *Man*; P. H. Mitchell, *Textbook of General Physiology*; M. Parmelee, *The Science of Human Behavior*.

<sup>41</sup> Givler, *op. cit.*, Chaps. iii, vii; F. L. Wells, *Pleasure and Behavior*; S. Paton, *Human Behavior*.

<sup>42</sup> This matter is well handled in R. M. MacIver, *Community: a Sociological Study*. See also K. Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*.

<sup>43</sup> See the admirable chapter on "The Art of Morals," in H. Ellis's *The Dance of Life*.

<sup>44</sup> G. S. Hall, *Morale: The Supreme Standard of Life and the Standpoint of Science*; and R. Pound, *Law and Morals*.

tion of the man of honor as a person who sincerely regrets a dishonorable act even if he has not been detected in it. We certainly lost much when we substituted the slinking and servile goose-stepper of the present generation for the chivalry of the frequently inebriated but truly civilized gentleman of the old school.<sup>45</sup>

5. *Pluralism, Relativity and Moral Conduct.* Still further to emphasize the complicated and difficult problem of working out an approximately perfect system of conduct, particularly in its applicability to individual guidance, it is necessary to call attention to the significance of individual differences in ability, taste and inclination in this regard. We have been assuming in the above discussion more or less the uniformity of the population in ability and native endowment, and that some valid code of conduct can be worked out which would be equally applicable to all the classes in the population. All men have been held in pietistic tradition to be equal before God. But, as Aristotle intuitively perceived, and Galton, Pearson and their associates and disciples have proved, this is one of the most atrocious fallacies of popular social, political and ethical thought. Wide variations in capacity appear to be the most important single fact about the human race, thus showing that mankind conforms to the general implications of the normal frequency curve descriptive of the variations generally observable throughout the realm of nature.<sup>46</sup> It would seem to follow that there will be certain kinds of conduct which will not be harmful for the abler members of society; which, indeed, may be positively desirable and beneficial; yet which, at the same time, would be dangerous for their less able fellow-citizens, relatively lacking in poise, self-control and intellectual discrimination.<sup>47</sup>

Pluralism thus becomes a problem for advanced ethical theory quite as much as for political theory. It raises the whole problem of man's being his "brother's keeper" in quite a new

manner and with different implications. Hitherto it has been assumed that one genius should repress his desires, cramp and paralyze his personality, and destroy much of his power for creative work, so that a dozen morons might potentially obtain a hypothetical harp in a mythological New Jerusalem. In the light of the fact that all of human progress has been due primarily to the work of the able few, the modern student of ethical theory will probably have to admit that it is better to sacrifice a thousand morons rather than handicap seriously a single genius. But whether or not one accepts this generalization, the problem remains of adjusting any scientific moral code to the fact of the vast variations in human capacity and desires and the implications of these diversities for the content and enforcement of a body of ethical doctrine.<sup>48</sup>

And again, no scientifically oriented person would expect that anything more than an approximation to an intelligent and efficient system of ethics could be worked out by pure analysis, even by the most competent group of cooperating scientists in all the interested fields which were mentioned above. We should need to survey history to discover as far as possible the effect of various forms of conduct in the past, and, above all, we should require an experimental attitude towards the effects of our new code as applied, with the end in view of constant revision as experience dictates the desirability and necessity of alteration. But nothing could be more revolutionary than this very notion of a tentative and experimental attitude in regard to conduct.<sup>49</sup>

The conventional theory of ethics is that conduct is something dictated by the Gods, complete in scope and permanent and eternal in content. The view that it is socially determined, and should be continually revised and readapted to changing social and cultural conditions is diametrically opposed to all orthodox views of ethical theory and practice.<sup>50</sup> And the whole notion embraced in the above discussion regarding the pos-

<sup>45</sup> Cf. H. O'Higgins, *The American Mind in Action*, Chap. i, especially p. 9; H. L. Mencken, *Prejudices; Third Series*, Chap. i.

<sup>46</sup> See M. M. Willey, in Merriam and Barnes, *A History of Political Theories: Recent Times*, Chap. ii; F. H. Hankins, "Individual Differences and Their Significance for Social Theory," in *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, 1922, pp. 27-39; and "Individual Difference and Democratic Theory," in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1923, pp. 388-412.

<sup>47</sup> A thesis developed with considerable force from the philosophic standpoint by Nietzsche in his distinction between the "Herrenmoral" and the "Skavenmoral"; and popularized in America by H. L. Mencken. A good study from the psychiatric point of view is needed.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. F. H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, Chap. xv; H. M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*; Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*; W. James, *The Will to Believe and Other Essays*.

<sup>49</sup> W. M. Davis, *loc. cit.*, Dewey, *op. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> See the official ukase on this subject by President Coolidge in his *The Price of Freedom*. It is dignified on a literary level in the writings of Paul Elmer More, Stuart Sherman, and Irving Babbitt. There is a vigorous critique of the conventional and pietistic view by A. L. Lons, "Morality, the Last of the Dogmas," in the *Philosophical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 371-94.



sibility of bringing together an adequate group of scientists, to construct a scientific body of ethical doctrine and then getting it accepted by the mass of mankind is largely fanciful and utopian. Any progress in the direction of a scientific, æsthetic and experimental attitude towards conduct will, in all probability, be achieved only very slowly, unconsciously, and in a highly piece-meal manner. The aim of the writer will have been executed if he has made it clear how extremely complicated and technical is the whole problem of the discovery of the nature of what is truly ethical conduct, and how absurdly grotesque it is for us to accept as possessing any validity whatever the views on ethics held by the average metaphysician, clergyman, Y. M. C. A. lecturer, house-wife or Main Street gossip, which are today the sovereign guides of conduct for the majority of mankind, and something which it is difficult for even the ablest of our race to disregard with impunity.<sup>51</sup>

6. *Practical Significance of the Problem.* The whole problem of ethical reconstruction is, however, something of more than academic or curious import. Nothing could be more erroneous than the assumption that with the growing complexity of human society and the decline of supernaturalism we can dispense with a serious consideration of the problems of conduct. There can be no question that we are in far greater need today of an adequate body of morality and a proper provision of morale than at any earlier time in the history of human society.<sup>52</sup> An unscientific and inefficient standard of conduct was far less dangerous in a static, simple agrarian society than it is in the complex, dynamic urban age of today. And it will probably be necessary to enforce the desirable standards rather more rigidly than previously, but before we go far in this direction we shall need to discover by scientific means the nature of a valid code of conduct and to be sure that we are not trying to enforce a system which is totally wrong-headed and primitive, the successful execution of which would be socially disastrous.<sup>53</sup> It will further be

necessary to understand that any attempt at political enforcement of standards of conduct will be largely futile and harmful unless preceded and accompanied by an adequate campaign of public education and enlightenment.<sup>54</sup> And, finally, it may be safely assumed that it is a matter which is solely up to man. He can expect nothing in the way of divine inspiration and guidance, except in so far as this may be discovered in the fact of his intellectual powers and the potentiality residing therein for remarkable scientific achievement and application. If he fails to meet the responsibility, the wreck of his civilization will doubtless be the penalty which we shall pay, as our predecessors have invariably paid it in previous ages.<sup>55</sup>

The above discussion should certainly have made it apparent how dangerous, misleading and inaccurate it is to continue to maintain the sharp distinction between character and intelligence which is based wholly upon primitive animism and pure metaphysics. There are, to be sure, many examples of men of high intelligence who are utterly lacking in a sense of honor or decency or in fundamental honesty and fairness, in exactly the same way that there are many arrant scoundrels among the clergy of the United States in the year 1924, but to assume that this constitutes any basis for the divorcement of intelligence from morality is as absurd as it would be to conclude that no clergyman could be moral. While there may be intelligent men who are not moral, there can certainly be no truly moral men who are not intelligent, unless one means by morality unreasoning obedience to the herd. If one accepts this as the criterion of moral conduct, then many animals and most insects are far more thoroughly and highly moral than any man could possibly aspire to be. Indeed, one can probably say that there is no truly or completely intelligent person who is not at the same time moral in the scientific sense of that term. Any deviation from morality would constitute to that degree evidence of shortcomings in his intelligence, in the same way that grave doubts of intellectual acumen on the part of any individual would be raised by his consuming eight custard pies in succession or voluntarily walking into a millpond in

<sup>51</sup> See L. Hughes, "In Defense of the Ku Klux Klan," in *Humanity and Its Problems*, April, 1924; and J. M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*.

<sup>52</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*; and "The Message of the Zeitgeist," in the *Scientific Monthly*, August, 1921.

<sup>53</sup> Dewey, *op. cit.*; H. Neumann, *Education for Moral Growth*, which is discussed in a stimulating article by M. C. Otto in the *American Review*, November-December, 1924, pp. 666ff. See also the important chapters in Otto's *Things and Ideals*, especially Chap. v.

<sup>54</sup> W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*.

<sup>55</sup> Hall, *Morale*; and "The Message of the Zeitgeist," *loc. cit.*; J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*, and *The Humanizing of Knowledge*; H. G. Wells, *The Salvaging of Civilization*.



January. It should be absolutely clear to any thoughtful and informed person that morality, far from being divorced from intelligence, depends more thoroughly and completely upon intelligence and scientific information than any other phase of human thought and action. The relative complexity and difficulties in arriving at an adequate theory of conduct are so great that it is palpably less absurd to declare for a divorcement of mathematics, physics or chemistry from the intellect and intellectual processes, than to contend that morality and intelligence are two different and unrelated entities. In this day and age a writer could give no more perfect evidence of anachronistic and confused thinking than to enunciate the paleolithic thesis of the anthithesis of intellect and morality.<sup>56</sup>

## II. ETHICS AND HISTORY

1. *Some Leading Historical Conceptions of the "Good Life."* An illuminating and important phase of the historical point of view applied to ethics, and of the bearing of ethical interests upon history is to be found in an investigation of the history of the prevailing views about the "good life" which have succeeded each other in the course of western civilization. We are concerned here almost solely with the general attitude of the intellectual class at large, rather than with the views of specific philosophers or of the mass of the people.

In primitive society there was little conscious philosophy of life objectives. The basic conception was that of "luck." The best life was that which secured the greatest assurance of permanence and continuance of the individual and communal luck. Everything which occurred was invariably referred to a supernatural cause and intervention, fortunate incidents being assigned to good spirits, and disaster of various degrees to the intervention of evil spirits. The effective mode of insuring the dominance of the acts of the good spirits—namely, the existence of satisfactory luck—was believed to be that of following with great care the type of life marked out by taboos—the danger signals or "dons" of primitive society. If no taboos were violated the good spirits would not be alienated, and would

continue their beneficent activities. This led to the rigid domination of the customs which embodied these taboos, as well as certain types of positive directions for human life and social activities. The "good life" to primitive man, then, meant docile subservience to custom as enforced by the herd and its leaders, and this ideal has continued to control the mass of mankind with some slight progressive mitigation to the present time. As Marett sums up the matter: "Custom is king, nay tyrant, in primitive society. When Captain Cook asked the chiefs of Tahiti why they ate apart and alone, they simply replied, 'Because it is right.' And so it always is with the ruder peoples. 'Tis the custom, and there an end on't' is their notion of a sufficient reason in politics and ethics alike."<sup>57</sup>

The Oriental ideal was much like that of the primitive age as to status and rigidity, but it meant the enforcement of custom on a larger, more magnificent and more forceful scale. The primitive chieftain had been elevated and transformed into the king and emperor, with much greater wealth and power, and more territory and subjects under his dominion. The custom and myth of earlier days had likewise been converted into systematized religious belief and tradition on the one hand, and unalterable and rigidly enforced codes of sumptuary laws on the other. But it was chiefly a change in the scale of activities. Conformity remained the great social and individual ideal, and original thought and reflective analysis were as little encouraged as in previous ages. The machinery for the discovery and impressive rebuke of originality and independence was even more effective and extensive than in primitive society. In no way did the Hebrews exhibit any marked deviation from their Oriental neighbors in this respect when they were in a position to compel obedience to their folkways and beliefs.<sup>58</sup>

With the Greeks we have a notable change. For the first time a portion of mankind was able to depart from the unreasoning acceptance of custom and tradition, and to begin critical reflection.

<sup>56</sup> W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, Chaps. ii-iii; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, Part III; J. K. Hart, *The Discovery of Intelligence*.

<sup>57</sup> F. H. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 283-6; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*; W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, Chap. iii; F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, Chap. iii; P. V. N. Myers, *History as Past Ethics*, Chaps. iii-iv, ix.

<sup>58</sup> Neumann, *op. cit.*; Dewey, *op. cit.*

tion on the meaning and objective of life. This process was initiated by the critical pre-Socratic philosophers and continued by the Sophists. There was developed a general distrust of the supernaturalistic explanations of causation, which found its most extreme form in the mechanistic evolutionary philosophy of the Epicureans. Custom and tradition likewise fell into disrepute among the critical philosophers. There followed an attempt to construct on the basis of conscious thought and reasoned analysis definite theories of life and happiness. Truth, beauty and self-expression were among the highest ideals of the Greeks. Their criteria as to right living were drawn primarily from mundane considerations. The good life was the best life for man here and now, with little or no reference to the life beyond the grave. There was a real joy in daily life, and much of the Greek religion, ritual and recreation expressed in one way or another this spirit and attitude. The aesthetic rather than the ascetic was the dominant *motif* of life. Along with these must be put the Greek sense of balance and propriety. There was little of the narrow or fanatical in the best ideals of the Greeks. This attitude is well exemplified by Plato's catalogue of the four cardinal virtues: wisdom, justice, courage and temperance; and by Aristotle's conception of virtue as the happy mean between asceticism and indulgence. Tolerance and urbanity, perhaps the two capital tests of civilization, were highly esteemed, and emerge at their best in the *Dialogues* of Plato. Serenity, poise and self-confidence were cherished as ideals for the healthy and desirable personal attitude. Further, the Greeks distinguished rather clearly between the *Herrenmoral* and the *Sklavenmoral*. The good life was for those intelligent enough to know it and to live it. There prevailed no false notions of equality and democracy. Even the Stoic conception of the brotherhood of man envisaged only the wise and capable of all nations. Finally, the Greeks put intellectual and cultural considerations ahead of the material. They did not capitulate to "the empire of machines," and "things" were distinctly not "in the saddle." Estimates are always biased by the subjective, but it is the sober opinion of the writer that no other theory of life, with the possible exception of the closely related views of Confucius, constitutes any rea-

sonable approximation to that of the Greeks as the general ideal for humanity from all points of view. It is not without significance that modern psychiatrists and exponents of mental hygiene are continually reverting to the Greeks for their slogans and objectives.<sup>59</sup>

The Romans produced little which was new in regard to the theory of life. Their best minds simply took up and adapted the Greek ideals in this respect. Writers like Marcus Aurelius, Seneca and Epictetus presented the Stoic views in a sympathetic spirit. Lucretius and Horace were equally favorable to the Epicurean attitude, while the balanced Greek view was best set forth by the eclectic expositor, Cicero. The bucolic ideal was somewhat more pronounced in Roman than in Greek thought. It was presented in a crude and savage form by Cato the Elder, and in a much more engaging fashion by Virgil and Horace. Perhaps the chief addition which the Romans made to the theory of the good life lay in the greater emphasis upon the ideals of order, authority, regimentation, status and obedience, which were in large measure a reflection and justification of the exigencies of the Roman political system and economic and social institutions. Embodied to a considerable degree in systematic Roman law these concepts have played an immense part in shaping our notions and practices in social control.<sup>60</sup>

While Christian theology was largely an attempt to state the nature of the person and mission of Christ in terms of Hellenic transcendentalism, the Christian ideals of life were on most points a complete negation of the Greek position. In the place of the free play of the intellect the Christians substituted a neo-Oriental conception of life according to fixed and immutable dogma and rite. Faith supplanted reason as the guide to truth, and credulity instead of critical analysis became the chief intellectual virtue. The Hellenic emphasis upon the importance of a happy and well-balanced life on this planet,

<sup>59</sup> Books like Livingstone's *Legacy of Greece*; Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*; Dickinson's *The Greek View of Life*; Burnet, *Greek Ideals*; and Murray's *Ancient Greek Literature* set forth the Greek point of view in clear and adequate fashion. See also Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. x.

<sup>60</sup> Among the best books on Roman thought and morality are S. Dill, *Roman Society* (two volumes); L. Friedlander, *Roman Life and Morals*; W. Fowler's *Social Life at Rome*; E. Barker, et al., *The Legacy of Rome*; E. Renan, *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought and Culture of Rome on Christianity*. See also Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. xi.



and a joy in things mundane, was given up for an all-consuming interest in the life after death. The salvation of the soul rather than the augmentation and clarification of knowledge and the increase of human happiness became the chief objective in life. Things of the flesh were to be crucified ruthlessly as the chief obstacle to salvation. It was scarcely desirable even to speculate about the good life upon the earth, lest this divert attention from the salutary and efficacious spiritual exercises designed to save the soul. A mystical rather than a philosophical outlook upon life was most highly prized. Instead of a glorification of the female form and personality, and a judicious and healthy attitude towards sex, the Christians, following in the wake of Paul's teachings, looked upon woman as the source of original sin, and viewed sexual activities as the devil's chief instrument in the seduction of the human race. The ascetic replaced the aesthetic as the ideal of personal conduct. In part this was due to the boorishness of the Hebrew ideal which had found expression in the bucolic and primitive philosophy of the typical Hebrew prophets whose chief function seems to have been a persistent effort to prevent the Hebrew peoples from falling into the ways of civilization. Instead of breadth, poise, sanity and balance as the chief ideals and practices of life, we find a narrow, fanatical and panicky attitude. In the place of tolerance and urbanity appeared persecution and the procedure against heresy. Serenity and self-confidence were replaced by fear and self-depreciation. The orthodox Christian was preëminently a person of a single-track mind. It is, of course, true that if one accepted the premises of the Christian Epic these attitudes were logical, if not inevitable. Salvation was too important a thing to allow of that leisurely mundane urbanity which alone can produce true culture and civilization. We are not here concerned with a critique or defence of the Christian attitude, but only aim briefly to summarize it. Of all its traits, probably otherworldliness and intolerance stand out as most prominent and most potent.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Among the important books on this subject are F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*; F. A. Henry, *Jesus and the Christian Religion*; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*; J. E. Carpenter, *Phases of Early Christianity*; P. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*; L. Wallis, *A Sociological Study of the Bible*; H. B. Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation*; A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science With Theology*. See particularly J. B. Bury, *History of the Freedom of Thought*, Chap. iii. See also Myers, *op. cit.*, Chaps. xii-xiii.

The Scholastic synthesis which supplanted the Patristic orientation as the characteristic phase of the culture and intellectual life of the height of the medieval period rested firmly upon the general background of the Christian Epic and the Patristic fanaticism, but there was some little compromise with the Aristotelian ideal of the contemplative life. Abelard had proved that Christian dogma could not remain invulnerable when based upon faith, credulity and authority alone. From the days of Peter Lombard to those of Aquinas, Scotus and Occam the effort was made to vindicate Christianity through an appeal to the resources of the logical technique. There was some slight reassertion of the "things of the head" as against the earlier absolute sway of the "things of the heart." But the former were utilized and exploited solely in the interest of the latter. There was no thought of the place or possibility of "idle curiosity," disinterested analysis and tolerant reflection. The other worldly bias still dominated all thought. But from the thirteenth century onward, with the increase of worldly prosperity and a growing knowledge and appreciation of Greek literature and philosophy, the Patristic-Scholastic complex weakened and mellowed, and gradually prepared the way for a revival of the Hellenic viewpoint in Humanism.<sup>62</sup>

Humanism was primarily the partial revival of the Hellenic outlook upon life which came into being with the recovery of a more complete knowledge of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. This produced a notable resurgence of an appreciation of the things of this life—some joy in life for its own sake. The best of the Humanist philosophers, such as Montaigne, contended that it was the function of philosophy to guide one to the most happy and efficient mode of life upon the earth rather than to teach one how to die so as to be saved. With this appeared to some degree the Greek emphasis upon poise, serenity, balance and contemplation. Tolerance and urbanity increased remarkably. Aesthetic considerations and motives assumed a new importance and vigor. Asceticism was to some degree checked. Significant and pleasing as was this

<sup>62</sup> J. McCabe, *Abelard*; C. H. Haikins, *Rise of the Universities*; M. De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*; S. L. Poole, *Studies in the History of Medieval Thought*; H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*; Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. xv.



revival of the Greek view of life, it was but a feeble approximation to the ancient Hellenism. Petrarch is scarcely to be compared with Aristotle; Erasmus falls far short of Plato or Lucretius. Even in the best of the Humanists there was a strong pietistic trend, and the City of the Devil never gained any considerable triumph over the City of God. Christianity for a time came to terms with Hellas, but it never surrendered its ascendancy.<sup>63</sup>

The importance of the Humanist outlook upon life was rendered even less conspicuous because of its transient nature. It had scarcely become well established when the Reformation and Counter-Reformation threw Europe back into an intellectual state even lower than that of the best of Scholasticism. Its dominating psychology and orientation was that of Paul, Gregory the Great or St. Bernard rather than of Aquinas and Dante. Faith, credulity, fanaticism, intolerance and supernaturalism once more reigned supreme as they had not since the Dark Ages. Only in one direction was there a distinct break with the past, and this lay in the direction of a definite compromise with the materialistic tendencies of the new age associated with the discoveries and the rise of trade, colonialism and capitalism. Luther was sympathetic with the *bourgeois* growth and expansion which did so much to make his movement a success in Germany. Calvin valiantly defended the dignity of labor and manual effort, thus effecting a definite break with the Greek contempt for such activity, and glorified the acquisition of material riches. The Puritan divines carried the Calvinistic doctrine still further, claiming that the exercise of business acumen and shrewd economic dealing constituted the most truly divine of human attitudes and activities. This was combined with a compensatory semi-asceticism, which was based upon the theory that while God markedly approved of pecuniary accumulation he looked askance at the spending of money, which was likely to be associated with the lusts of the flesh. It is probable that this surrender of Christianity to materialism, even though accompanied by an illusory emphasis upon the primary importance of the things of the spirit,

is the most novel and significant contribution of the Reformation period to the theory of life.<sup>64</sup>

The abyssmal intellectual and cultural gloom of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation was lifted in part by the rise of Rationalism and the development of that intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment. Reason became once more the supreme intellectual process and attitude; and it was the free play of the human faculties rather than the Scholastic exploitation of logic to establish the verities of orthodoxy. Urbanity and tolerance were represented as the chief criteria of true human culture by such writers as Anthony Collins, Pierre Bayle, John Locke, Shaftsbury and Paine. Mundane objectives once more replaced the spiritual and otherworldly. Francis Bacon held that the Kingdom of Man rather than the Kingdom of Heaven should constitute the main center of human interest. Life on this earth came to be looked upon as worthy of improvement. There was also no little return of that intellectual serenity, appreciation of man as man, and a love of the true and the beautiful which had characterized the Hellenic period, and to a far less extent, the age of Humanism. Over all was spread the orientation of a benign if smug materialism, due chiefly to the *bourgeois* source of the rationalistic thought. Locke held that there were three primordial and inalienable natural rights of man: life, liberty and property, and the greatest of these was property. A happy present and a better future were held to depend solely upon a correct and adequate exploitation of the resources of human reason.<sup>65</sup>

Romanticism, which succeeded Rationalism in the latter part of the eighteenth century as the dominant philosophy of the intellectual classes, tended in part to revert to the pietism and mysticism of the medieval period, but it escaped the asceticism of the earlier age. In its theory of life Romanticism combined in part Christian mysticism and Hellenic naturalism. The emotions were viewed as a better guide to life than pure reason. This led to an appreciation of art, music, liter-

<sup>63</sup> E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation*; P. Smith, *Erasmus*; H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*; K. Pearson, *The Ethics of Free Thought*, Chap. viii; Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. xvi.

<sup>64</sup> P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*; E. M. Hulme, *op. cit.*; W. E. H. Lecky, *The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, Chaps. i, iv; Pearson, *op. cit.*, Chap. ix; R. H. Tawney, "Sixteenth Century Religious Thought," in *Journal of Political Economy*, 1923-4; Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. xvii.

<sup>65</sup> Lecky, *op. cit.*; J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, Chaps. v-vii; H. Höfding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, Vol. I; W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*; C. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*.

ature and life to an even greater degree than had been prevalent among the Rationalists. Of all the fundamentally pious orientations in European history, Romanticism is probably the most attractive.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately the pietistic influence of Romanticism exceeded its naturalistic and humanistic trends, and the middle of the nineteenth century came to be characterized by the arid and respectable asceticism of mid-Victorianism and the pietistic reaction, and by the fanatical asceticism begotten of American Puritanism and the frontier and bucolic spirit. But there has been relatively less unity in western civilization since 1850 in regard to the theory of the good life than in earlier ages. Continental ideals have differed markedly from those of England and America. The humanistic and aesthetic tradition has held over much more powerfully in the Continental states. Perhaps the most conspicuous common trend has been the triumph of materialism and the quantitative standards and criteria of success. As Veblen, Clark and others have made clear the triumph of the machine technique carried with it important psychological and cultural changes. The criteria of success came to be those which could be computed on the ledger and by the adding machine. Standardization and uniformity became highly esteemed. Conformity in conduct has been demanded, and sumptuary legislation has been passed and voluntary organizations founded to insure it. Critical analysis, independent judgment and cultural pluralism have been frowned upon. These conformist and materialistic tendencies, common in different degrees to all post-Industrial Revolution societies, have been most marked in the United States, where their dominance and ravages have been revealed and denounced by such writers as Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser and H. L. Mencken. As Veblen has so forcefully shown in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, pecuniary power and prestige have come to be esteemed above all else, and honorific consumption and conspicuous waste have come to be the most common and approved methods of demonstrating success in life. "Things

have come to be in the saddle," and the God of the modern world is business and pecuniary success. Such "pious observances" as remain have come to be chiefly a compensatory and defensive device for the new materialism. The cultural aridity and shallowness of this attitude have aroused the notice of the Oriental peoples, and have impressed them with the necessity of organizing themselves to repel the advances of western mechanized and standardized culture in order that they may retain what seems to them to be the richer, and more satisfactory life of contemplation and leisure on the basis of a simpler technology.<sup>67</sup>

Interesting as such a study of the history of the successive theories of the good life, as has been only casually and imperfectly suggested in the above review, might be, it is something far less vital and significant than an actual investigation of the practical effects of the actual modes of living which have characterized mankind throughout history. It is in this way only that history can, if at all, aid the scientific student of conduct in arriving at some accurate judgment as to the actual validity of theories of the good life.

2. *Some Leading Types of Approach to Ethical Theory.* In primitive society and, for the most part, in the ancient Orient there was no real ethical theory beyond the assumption of the divine origin and enforcement of custom. The whole doctrine was embodied in the theory that custom is sacred and must be blindly and unthinkingly obeyed. The very idea that there could be such a thing as a philosophy of ethics would be repugnant to primitive peoples. Nor did active theorizing about conduct in the Oriental period become a matter of practical import, even though an occasional sage produced from time to time incisive observations on the subject. The accepted doctrine was that "what is, is right." Right was embodied in primitively derived customs, in sumptuary legislation and royal proclamations. The "why" or the justice of such precepts was a subject which the discreet saw fit not to investi-

<sup>66</sup> Höfding, *op. cit.*, Vol II, Book VIII; J. Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics*; W. T. Marvin, *A History of European Philosophy*, Chap. xxv; E. Fueter, *L'Histoire de l'Historiographie Moderne*, Livre V; G. Brandes, *The Romantic School in Germany*.

<sup>67</sup> H. O'Higgins, *The American Mind in Action*; H. Stearns Ed., *Civilization in the United States*; H. M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*; H. L. Mencken, *A Book of Prefaces*, pp. 197-283; *Prejudices*, in four series; T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*; R. A. Cram, *The Nemesis of Mediocrity*; R. Guénon, *Orient et Occident*.



gate or pry into too closely. Indeed, it was assumed, as in primitive society, that such guides to conduct constituted the will of the gods in the premises, to violate which would invite national, as well as personal, disaster.<sup>68</sup>

With the Greeks the animistic, customary and theological explanations of conduct was in part abandoned for a metaphysical approach to the problem. Socrates and Plato contended that there were certain transcendental, permanent and immutable norms of right—metaphysical entities which existed even anterior to man and independent of any particular time or place. These might be arrived at and defined by suitable dialectical acumen. The Stoics combined metaphysics and revelation. The wisdom of God in the form of the *logos* permeated the cosmos, and might appropriate some small portion of this through his rational powers and processes, thus seeing the light and learning the divine pleasure as to intricacies of personal conduct. These metaphysical lines of approach to the problems of conduct have persisted to our own day, though the progressive philosophers of the James-Dewey variety have severely challenged the older premises and postulates. The most striking and original step taken by the Greek thinkers appeared in the writings of the Sophists and Epicureans, who recognized the relativity of right, its customary derivation, and its socio-utilitarian basis. Philosophers, as such, have probably never succeeded better in grasping the true nature and import of ethical codes.<sup>69</sup>

While the Christians retained much of the Hellenic metaphysics in their theology, their ethical doctrine resembled more the primitive and Oriental attitude, namely, the view of definite and specific revelation based upon available and infallible religious texts. The orthodox early Christian did not feel it necessary to arrive at his conclusions in regard to ethical theory on the basis of careful and discriminating analytical reasoning. His only problem was to read over pertinent sections of Holy Writ, particularly the

alleged Mosaic Code and certain New Testament writings, especially the ethical precepts of the Pauline Epistles. To these might be added the commentaries and elaborations of the Fathers and Saints, but in any case the source of guidance was explicit revelation and authoritative command. While the metaphysical and logical technique became rather more important in the Scholastic period than it had been in the Patristic, this influenced theology far more than it did the canons and practices in regard to conduct, and revealed divine pleasure in the premises has remained to this day the uniform and universal source of formal guidance and directions to the orthodox Christians in the field of conduct.<sup>70</sup>

The period of Rationalism was characterized by the growth of an empirical and pragmatic attitude towards the sources of ethical guidance and the validity of codes of conduct—a position resembling the Sophistic and Epicurean approach. There also developed among the Deistic rationalists a type of metaphysic, drawn from the Newtonian natural science and celestial mechanics, which contended that human conduct, like the motion and paths of the planets, and all other processes and manifestations of nature, should be based upon conformity to a universal natural norm, order or law, which was of divine origin and sanction. There was some resemblance here to the old Stoic conception of the law of nature, but the Deists differed from the Stoics in their mode of discovering the character and content of natural law. They had little faith in the *logos*, but preferred to discover the valid forms of conduct through empirical results achieved in a social world of benevolent laissez-faire and free competition. This represented an extreme breach with the orthodox notion of full human guidance through elaborate sumptuary legislation based upon Scriptural warrant. There were also certain important anticipations of the purely aesthetic approach to moral problems in the writings of Montaigne, Shaftesbury and others. Likewise, in the works of Voltaire, Montesquieu and Ferguson we find the foreshadowing of the comparative and evolutionary approach to problems of conduct and ethical codes, exempli-

<sup>68</sup> L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*; R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society, and Primitive Religion*; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*; J. H. Breasted, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*; M. Jastrow, *Civilization in Babylonia and Assyria*.

<sup>69</sup> T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*; E. Hatch, *Influence of Greek Thought and Usages on the Christian Church*.

<sup>70</sup> Taylor, *Medieval Mind*, Vol. I; *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*; W. R. Cassels, *Supernatural Religion*.

fied in our own day by Spencer, Ratzel, Sumner, Westermarck and others. In Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, finally, we discover what was perhaps the first systematic effort to construct ethical doctrine upon the basis of psychological premises.<sup>71</sup> The ethical doctrine of Romanticism was based upon either the revelation theory of the orthodox, or upon the metaphysical "conscience" premise of Kant and others, with an occasional sly peep by certain writers at the aesthetic approach and evaluation.<sup>72</sup>

The most important advance in ethical theory in the half century following Adam Smith was the development of utilitarianism by Bentham and his associates and disciples. This was founded upon a definite psychological basis—the famous felicific calculus, which represented man as a consciously calculating animal, carefully and discriminatingly hesitating before every choice, and weighing the relative possibilities of pleasurable satisfaction likely to result from each and every act and expenditure. Socially considered, this ethic demanded the "greatest happiness for the greatest number," and tested the validity of the ethical import and justification of any act by its potential utility in contributing to this desirable end. When discriminatingly interpreted in harmony with the dictates and discoveries of differential biology and psychology, this utilitarian slogan may be regarded as perhaps the best general statement yet made of the objective of social and individual behavior, but its specific psychological foundation has been proved by Graham Wallas and others to be quite obviously fallacious, and it provided no adequate technique for discovering the specific nature of the "greatest happiness."<sup>73</sup>

Closely related to the ethic of the utilitarian school was the sociological theory of conduct which took form very definitely in the writings of Comte, Post, Spencer and Bagehot in the middle third of the nineteenth century. They accepted either tacitly or explicitly the utilitarian criterion as to the validity of forms of conduct, but they tended more definitely to place the de-

rivation of such conduct on the basis of social evolution, selection, and survival value in institutions and forms of conduct. The evolutionary process, they held, tended to favor socially desirable forms of conduct, and to eliminate the undesirable and detrimental. This evolutionary trend in sociological ethics, together with Darwinian evolutionary biology, gave rise to a definite naturalistic school of evolutionary ethical theory represented by such men as Lecky, Stephen, Kidd, Fiske, Hobhouse, Sutherland, Westermarck, Alexander and others.<sup>74</sup>

Many of these later trends in the study of the nature and origins of codes of conduct unquestionably laid the foundations for a real science of conduct, if mainly in the way of a direct or indirect critique of the supernaturalistic and metaphysical codes of orthodoxy.<sup>75</sup> But no one of these approaches mentioned above made any real effort to investigate just what forms of conduct produced the greatest happiness for the greatest number. The basis for such a discovery was laid by such sciences as biology, chemistry, psychology and medicine. The sociologists should have quickly exploited this material, but they were extremely tardy in so doing, preferring to build up semi-metaphysical systems of sociology or to construct elaborate rationalized defences of their own orthodox ethical complexes and beliefs. It thus devolved upon socially minded psychiatrists and educators to step into the breach, and mental hygiene has constituted to date almost the only concerted and well organized effort to get at the facts essential to the discovery of any valid foundations for individual and social conduct. Slowly and very recently some of the more progressive sociologists have taken cognizance of these developments, as has been demonstrated by the recent works of Ogburn, Groves, Bernard and Thomas. When, and only when, the proper liason has been established between mental hygiene and sociology will there at last be provided after several generations of coöperative study a real science of conduct.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>71</sup> References as in footnote 65.

<sup>72</sup> References as in footnote 66.

<sup>73</sup> W. C. Mitchell, "Bentham's Felicific Calculus," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1918; W. L. Davidson, *Political Thought in England from Bentham to John Stuart Mill*; E. Albee, *A History of English Utilitarianism*; L. Stephen, *The Utilitarians*; G. Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*.

<sup>74</sup> L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation*; J. P. Lichtenberger, *A History of Social Theory*; A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*; F. H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*.

<sup>75</sup> Myers, *op. cit.*, Chap. xviii.

<sup>76</sup> C. Beers, *A Mind That Found Itself*; W. A. White, *Principles of Mental Hygiene*; W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*; J. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*; J. A. Hadfield, *Psychology and Morals*; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*; E. R. Groves, *Personality and Social Adjustment*.



3. *Ethics and the Historian.* There has probably been no phase of historical writing which has had a more distorting and misleading influence than the attempt of numerous historians to present a moral or moralizing interpretation of history. Not that any great number of historians have actually written histories of morals, or conceived of history as a branch of ethics. Still, few historians have been able to resist using history to illustrate some moral or immoral principle or process which they have assumed as valid and as exemplified in some phase or period of history. From Dionysius and Tacitus to Charles Kingsley and others since his day, the historian has frequently regarded it as one of his primary functions to pass moral judgments upon the trends and characters in history. The unhappy fate of Belshazzar, David's and Solomon's unfortunate amatory ambitions and achievements, and generally morally degrading nature of Oriental civilization as a whole, the disintegration of the Roman Empire due to the growth of sexual looseness, the unspeakable degeneracy of pagan culture as a whole, the austere morality of the Christian culture of the Middle Ages, the excessive wickedness of the Humanists and the Renaissance Age, the high moral character of the Puritans, the debasing nature of the Rationalistic outlook, the infidelity of Napoleon, and the general position that national integrity and prosperity, and cultural productivity and soundness, are absolutely correlated with strictly enforced monogamy and universal extra-conjugal celibacy, are among the more familiar examples of the moralistic interpretation of western history, which have become as threadbare through constant reiteration as they are historically misleading and insupportable in nearly every case.

While it is true that the ethical interpretation of history, when conceived in the broad and scientific sense of the term, is one of the most fundamental types of historical interpretation, and ethical problems and situations constitute an unusually important field for historical investigation, it is also certain that as yet we are in no manner whatever prepared to offer any ethical interpretation of history. At this stage of our knowledge an ethical interpretation of history is even more dubious and imaginary than the racial interpretation which has gained such a grotesque

popularity in recent years. All scientifically minded persons well recognize that we have as yet but the most imperfect knowledge of what forms of conduct are good for man and society here and now. Indeed, we have not in any general way even recognized that it is desirable to begin research in this field. If, then, we have not even begun systematically to investigate what actually constitutes the "good life," we certainly cannot pass competent judgment upon "good" and "bad" forms of conduct in the human past. We are still so abysmally ignorant of what is scientifically demonstrable of being ideal conduct that any judgments which we might pass upon the conduct of individuals and peoples in the past would be either most superficial and irrelevant or most wildly erroneous. If we do not know with any adequacy what will ruin a nation or augment its strength in our own day, when we have available all the evidence in the case, how much less valid must be our opinions about the past where the evidence for a substantial judgment in such matters is notoriously less if not absent entirely!

In fact, this last point raises the whole issue of the probability as to whether at any future time we shall be able to produce a valid ethical interpretation of history, except for very recent periods. By the time we have discovered what is actually the "good life," we shall doubtless find that its determination rests upon so wide a knowledge of so many and diverse, and often obscure, factors that the sources for anything but contemporary history are so inadequate and incomplete that they are practically worthless for research into moral issues and activities. This should not, however, discourage research into what may well be one of the most vital and important fields of work. But if it is carried on at all, it will not be from the premises and assumptions of the ethical historiography of Bossuet, Charles Kingsley, Anthony Comstock, John Roach Stratton or Cardinal Hayes. It will rather follow the lines marked out by the research into the biological basis of national prosperity, exemplified by the writings of Vacher de Lapouge, Schallmayer, Pearson, Holmes and others; the study of the effect of economic methods and policies by such writers as Weber,

Schmoller, Sombart, Webb, Hobson, Veblen and others; a realistic inquiry as to political life in the past, in accordance with the methods of Maitland, Beard, Laski and others; an investigation of the results of various social systems, as studied by progressive social historians and historical sociologists in harmony with the prospectus laid out in crude fashion by Comte and Spencer; the history of the nature and outcome of public hygiene through the ages; and the analysis of the dominant intellectual attitudes and moral codes through the ages from the point of view of the

tenets of modern mental hygiene. From the standpoint of the doctrine of scientific social ethics it is scarcely to be doubted that the historian will regard the situation revealed by the engineers' report on *Waste in Industry* and similar studies or *The Pittsburgh Survey* as something far more serious than the revelations of the Chicago Vice Commission's Report, even though we may still continue to send those responsible for the former conditions to Washington, and those who produce the latter state of affairs to Joliet and Atlanta.

## SOUTHERN PIONEERS IN SOCIAL INTERPRETATION

### VI. WOODROW WILSON: A CHALLENGE TO THE FIGHTING SOUTH

GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE EPOS of Woodrow Wilson came to a climax so thunderous that it has absorbed attention almost to the complete exclusion of all that preceded it. An article on Woodrow Wilson without reference to the war, or to the League of Nations, may seem to many readers as preposterous as an essay on Agamemnon without reference to the siege of Troy. This is unfortunate, for by the absorption of the President into the Internationalist, the United States and particularly the South loses a figure of outstanding social significance. The Wilson in the Hall of the Clock at Versailles, may have been merely a projection of the Wilson in the White House, and the Wilson in the State House at Trenton, and the Wilson in the President's house at Princeton; but his significance in the palace of the French kings is almost entirely unrelated to his significance in the houses built by the people which he occupied in the United States.

A leader of American democracy as dictator of a European peace congress was admittedly an anomaly. Mr. Wilson's presence at Versailles was due to a combination of circumstances unparalleled in history, and a combination which we are permitted to hope we shall never see again. It was not in any sense due to the orderly development of the social consciousness of any people that Mr. Wilson was called upon to play his part upon the European stage. He was thrust

upon that stage by forces entirely uncontrollable by the people of the United States, or by any other single nation. He was selected to be President of the United States by the deliberate choice of the people of the United States. He was selected to be the most conspicuous figure at the Peace Conference by a destiny which the people of the United States could neither foresee nor control.

As a social force of significance to democracy, his career before the war is therefore much more important than his career after the storm had burst. To devote attention exclusively to Wilson, the toy of destiny, is to lose sight of a man who expressed with singular clearness and felicity the social consciousness of his time. The nation can ill afford to suffer such a loss. To the South it is desperately heavy, for at this moment of its great expansion, materially and intellectually, it requires as never before careful study of the counsel of all its conspicuously able leaders. It is well worth the while of the South to scrutinize closely the record of this man irrespective of his attitude as an internationalist and to consider to what extent his leadership was effective in the South in matters not pertaining to the war and its aftermath.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to review in detail the economic and political ideas of Woodrow Wilson. Partisan controversialists



have so completely befogged that record that it will tax the resources of able historians for years to get at the truth. Much of it, indeed, is irrelevant to a discussion of the man as a social pioneer. It is intended here to consider rather the underlying faith that was the basis of his actions and to compare it with the underlying faith that seems to be the basis of the social policy of the section that produced Woodrow Wilson. About this, there is little obscurity. As long as the history of the United States is studied, men will doubtless continue to differ about the effectiveness of Wilson's domestic policy, as they will certainly differ about the effectiveness of his foreign policy. As to what he did, it is far too early to dogmatize, but as to what he intended to do there is not much dispute.

There is a consistency in this record that is not only easily traced, but that is so conspicuous that it is impossible to miss it. From the time of his assault on the eating clubs at Princeton to the time of his appeal to the Italian people over the head of Orlando, Woodrow Wilson maintained his faith, not in the righteousness only, but in the efficacy of democracy. In "The Road Away from Revolution," almost his last public utterance, he ascribed the Russian debacle to the fact that "The lives of the great mass of the Russian people contained no opportunities, but were hemmed in by barriers against which they were constantly flinging their spirits, only to fall back bruised and dispirited." This conception of the common people as constantly flinging their spirits against the barriers which hem them in, is surely as high an expression of the democratic ideal as ever was uttered. Grant that the people are battering at their barriers, and idealism is not only justified, but becomes the sole rational philosophy.

Can it be seriously maintained, though, that any such conception is held by the existing leadership of any section of the country? Since the South is the specific subject of these essays, confine the inquiry to the South. If Southern leaders actually believed that the great mass of the common people of the section are flinging their spirits against the barriers that hem them in, where would be the excuse for timidity, for time-serving opportunism, for obscurantism and reaction? Such faults and failures of leadership are inconsistent with a profound belief that the

people are surging against the barriers that restrain them from the freer and nobler life of the idealist's dreams.

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The decade since 1914 has been a decade of disillusionment the world over. Perhaps never since Jean-Jacques first inflamed the idealists of France has the intellectual response to the concept of democracy been feebler or more uncertain than it is at present. Passionate enthusiasm is always with the opposition, and democracy is now the party in power.

It is conceivable that the future historian may set down the year 1914 as the high tide of democracy; for ever since its assumption of complete control of the world assaults upon it have been increasing in frequency and vigor. But in 1914 Wilsonian idealism had not yet received a single real body-blow. If Wilson's leadership had ever been effective in his native section one would reasonably expect to find it effective at the moment of its highest power in the rest of the country.

What are the facts? At the Baltimore convention in 1912 the South put up a tremendous fight for the nomination of Oscar W. Underwood, although Wilson received some of its delegates. At the election in November of that year Wilson actually polled a smaller number of votes than Bryan had polled in 1896 in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas, and a smaller number than Bryan had polled in 1900 in Alabama. Every one of those states showed a material gain in population between 1900 and 1910, and the figures cannot have been affected by the disfranchisement of the negroes since the negroes never voted the Democratic ticket in appreciable numbers. The only possible explanation is that the enthusiasm of the South for Wilson at the height of his popularity never approached its enthusiasm for Bryan at the height of his popularity. In view of that fact that Wilson was generally believed to be a Democrat who could actually win, this refusal of the South to rally to him can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that there existed in the section a profound distaste for the man and his ideas.

since the extinction of the Confederate States of America has been in the nature of degeneration

In support of that theory there is the record of many Southern representatives and senators during Wilson's administration. Their opposition to the administration was notorious, but they were regularly returned to their seats in Washington by their constituencies. In Georgia, indeed, Thomas E. Watson won on a platform of opposition to Wilsonism more rabid than that of Hoke Smith.

The fact is, no candid observer doubts that if Underwood had been nominated by the Baltimore convention, the South would have voted for him as readily as it voted for Wilson. Perhaps it would have voted more enthusiastically, on account of Underwood's residence in the South. Now to assume that Oscar W. Underwood and Woodrow Wilson thought alike because they were both called Democrats would be as fatuous as to assume that the last of the czars and Lenine thought alike because they were both called Nicholas. Mr. Underwood's social concepts may or may not be the prevailing mode of thought in the South. The point is, the very willingness of the South to vote for either man proves that Mr. Wilson's concepts did not at that time dominate it. The fact that it was willing to return to Washington time after time men who had opposed Mr. Wilson's social program at every step is proof that it was at best indifferent about the success of that program at the moment when the rest of the country came nearest to genuine excitement about it.

Mr. Wilson carried the South in the election of 1912, but Wilsonism was far from dominating it then.

Woodrow Wilson's faith in democracy was not, however, incompatible with faith in representative government. His intelligence rejected the concept of pure democracy as essentially fallacious. The very nature of the charge most frequently brought against him is conclusive proof of his willingness to accept responsibility. He is accused of autocracy, which is an accusation never brought against any man whose record in office is one of indecision and evasion. He sponsored the doctrine that a President of the United States is in fact leader of his party as

well as chief executive, which was tantamount to assumption of responsibility for the legislative, as well as the executive, record of his administration.

In this he is followed in theory by the South, but it is becoming more and more the fashion for political parties and administrative officials to reject responsibility for any grave decision. The referendum, first proposed as a weapon for the people to employ against tyrannous officials, has recently threatened to become a means of escape for officials and legislative bodies from the necessity of making momentous decisions. Nothing in the record of democracy is clearer than the incapacity of the people to make wise decisions upon complicated questions involving technical details upon which all but expert opinion is worthless. Yet more and more frequently legislative bodies are referring such questions to the people for settlement at the polls.

This is the antithesis of Wilsonian doctrine. His bitterest enemies do not deny that he was courageous, and this policy is the off-spring of timidity in politics. The leadership that acts and then faces the consequences, instead of throwing back upon the people the responsibility that it should assume, is the only true leadership of representative democracy. The leadership that ducks and dodges, raising the specious cry of, "Let the people rule," was utterly abhorrent to Wilson, and travesties his spirit when it assumes to wear his colors.

A conspicuous cleavage between the political philosophy of Woodrow Wilson and the political philosophy of the present South is revealed by the war President's iconoclasm. Whatever else the South may be, it is not an image-breaker. Indeed, the most powerful foe of its advancement, materially, as well as mentally and morally, has rarely assumed human, or tangible form. It has been rather the dead hand of the past, a fixation of ideas arising from the notion that the Golden Age is behind, and not ahead.

No man of what the Victorian age called "sensibility" can fail to admire the magnificent loyalty of the South, but even loyalty, pushed to excess, becomes a vice. When it goes the length—as it has not infrequently gone in the South—of assuming that everything that has happened



and deterioration, loyalty becomes obscurantism, and a curse to the section it afflicts. A great past is a reproach to a nation that has no future.

After all, what the South thinks of its heroes is of trivial importance by comparison with what the heroes would think of the South, if they could return to it. It is creditable to the South that it rejects indignantly the mere suggestion that it repudiate Robert E. Lee; but it would be more to the purpose for the section to bend its energies to making sure that Robert E. Lee, if he were raised from the tomb, would not repudiate the South.

Think what the brave and chivalrous gentleman would say if he were told how white women have been stripped of their clothing and beaten by a mob of Southern white men wearing masks. Think of what the just and honorable officer would say if he were told that negroes have been hanged without trial in the South because they were suspected of having poisoned mules! Think of what the President of Washington College would say if he were given first the automobile statistics, and then the educational expenditures of his native section for the past year! It is no virtue for us to proclaim vociferously that Lee is good enough for us. Simple Simon can see that. What would puzzle Socrates to decide is, are we good enough for Lee?

That is the sort of question that interested Woodrow Wilson. He was a historian by profession. He knew the history of this country, including the South, far better than the average Southerner knows it; but few men have been less inclined to make an idol of history and to bow down before it. His impulse, on the contrary, was always to strike out in a new direction, to try something that had never been tried before, in the hope of achieving a success that had never been achieved before.

This spirit of adventure, of intellectual pioneering, certainly has not informed the South. It has not been wholly without effect, of course. The hopeful aspect of the situation is the fact that in many of the states below the Potomac there are conspicuous leaders who are Wilson men to the extent of believing in the incessant endeavor to break new paths, to attempt new tasks, if necessary to brave new dangers and to risk new failures. The discouraging aspect is

that these leaders are so extremely conspicuous. If there were more of them, they would stand out less prominently.

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The man Wilson was an intellectual. To mention the fact is to classify him as outside the ranks, not in the South alone, but in any section of the country. His profound and intense religious convictions cannot be doubted by anyone who has paid the slightest heed to his utterances and writings, or observed his actions with any sort of understanding; nevertheless, he denied that any department of life is closed to the exercise of reason. Shortly before his death he wrote to an inquirer that he not only believed in the theory of evolution as applied to the origin of man, but was amazed that anyone should question it at this late date.

It seems to be pretty well established that the type of leadership that denies the right of man to employ his reason in every department of life wields greater influence in the South than in any other section of the country. Inferior obscurantists exist in multitudes everywhere, and occasionally one discovers the type in a position of great authority and prestige in other sections. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is in the South that one finds the larger number of formidable rulers, especially in the ecclesiastical and educational realms, who frankly and openly advocate shackling the reason in the presence of what they deem sacred subjects.

The blatant cynicism of the Southern theologian and educator of a certain type in denying the intellectual aspirations of Woodrow Wilson yields nothing to the cynicism of those senators who denied his international aspirations. One of the exquisite ironies of the age is the fact that some of these men, who are openly and shamelessly fighting against the ideal to which Wilson devoted the labor of a lifetime, find no language too blistering to be applied to Senator Lodge and others who fought against the League of Nations, to which Wilson gave about three of his sixty years. To classify such men as followers of Woodrow Wilson would be to admit that they may

Compound for sins they are inclin'd to  
By damning those they have no mind to.

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It has not only been possible, in some quarters

it has been customary, to make every quality enumerated here the basis of an indictment of Woodrow Wilson. Even his stoutest admirers have deplored one other quality that must be added to the list, namely his combativeness. It may be that Woodrow Wilson was excessive in all his manifestations. None the less, without the very qualities which he is accused of carrying to excess, he never would have been the force that moved the world. "Your goodness must have some edge to it, else it is none" is a dictum accepted by the most conservative. There is no manner of doubt that Woodrow Wilson had an edge, and if in the end it sheared away some indispensable supporters, in the beginning it cut through a vast deal of opposition.

In so far as mere combativeness is concerned, the South suffers no lack of it. A fight can be picked pretty nearly anywhere at pretty nearly any time, if one is determined to have a fight, and is not fastidious as to his opponents or his cause. By proclaiming a certain viewpoint upon the negro question, or upon the Ku Klux Klan, or—in some states—upon partisan politics, one may precipitate any sort of combat, from a vigorous debate up to a clash in which the conclusive arguments are furnished by shotguns and bowie-knives. On certain questions the South will readily fight all comers in any and every fashion. But Woodrow Wilson would fight anybody on any question which he felt involved a principle. The South certainly does not follow him to that extreme. There is a broad region regarded as taboo by the average Southern leader, and it unfortunately includes some matters that ought to be discussed.

This is conspicuously true of any subject which happens to impinge upon religious dogma. To some extent the consideration that causes Southern leaders to walk warily in the presence of anything that can be tortured into a religious debate is the prudential consideration that it is better to let sleeping dogs lie. But it is open to question that that is the compelling motive in most cases. Beyond and behind that is another motive that has no relation whatever to personal safety or to constitutional pacificism. It is the reluctance of amiable and God-fearing men to attack the faith of weaker vessels. It is a thankless task to demolish illusions and to instill doubts and fears,

and there is a widespread belief in the South that it is highly questionable ethically.

Obviously, a consideration of that sort occurs only to men who are thoroughly conscientious and essentially humble-minded. It does not for a moment restrain the fanatic and the ignoramus. The consequence is that too often they are permitted to rage through the land without the raising of a single effective protest. The broader minded and more intelligent leaders of Southern thought shrug their shoulders and hold their tongues. The stock excuse is, "Oh, well, these fellows no doubt do a certain amount of good among the classes they reach." For this problematical good, therefore, the certain and obvious evil that these men do is permitted. The net result is that the vigor and aggressiveness shown in the South in the field of ethical and religious ideas is almost completely monopolized by the least intelligent and most reactionary leaders in those fields. In such cases the Wilson men are the very men whom Woodrow Wilson would have least desired as followers.

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Above all, and behind all else, Wilson was a spiritual aristocrat. He spent his life fighting the battles of democracy, it is true; but what he strove for was political democracy, economic democracy, perhaps to some extent social democracy. Not for an instant did he adhere to the theory that democracy extends to things of the spirit. He believed that there are good men and bad men, and while he would submit to the political rule of what he regarded as bad men, he tolerated no suggestion that they had any right to extend their rule over his spirit. He bowed to the will of the majority; but so far from worshipping it, he had for it the most corrosive scorn when it seemed to him that it willed wickedness.

Mr. Wilson's intransigent attitude in his last great fight was due to the fact that in his eyes the establishment of the League of Nations transcended all politics and became a spiritual adventure, where compromise was to him unthinkable. Unfortunately for him, others regarded it as nothing of the sort, but a question of the most practical sort of politics. Thus he lost his fight, and is accused, not without reason, of having betrayed his own cause through excess of zeal.



Be that as it may, he left the world a record of tremendous strength of conviction. It is not inconceivable that in so doing he bequeathed to a skeptical age something more valuable than the political system he endeavored to establish. Certainly it is a record of enormous potential value to the South, if the South chooses to profit by it. Here was a man of brains and character who believed that it is the duty of brains and character to rule the world, or to go down fighting for empery. What a contrast to the pseudo-aristocracy, that will not soil its white fingers with deeds of violence to no matter what end!

We are prone to forget that "aristocracy" does not mean the existence of a superior class, but the rule of a superior class. He would be a pessimist indeed who would deny that a class superior, not on account of blood, but on account of brains and character, *exists* in the South; but he would be an optimist equally extreme who would dare to maintain that that class *rules* in the South. The superior class never has ruled and never will rule except where and when it was willing to fight. The ancient aristocracy that attained and maintained its dominance by means of the sword had a comparatively simple task, which required mainly physical strength and courage. The new aristocracy is faced by a problem infinitely more complex. It must assert and maintain its superiority by means of intellectual and moral weapons. But the fact that the style of warfare has changed does not mean that the fighting is any the less bitter. On the contrary it has, if anything, increased in ferocity, for no *Jacquerie* in human form ever was as bitter, as relentless, and as tireless as the evil spirits that the intellectual and moral aristocrat has to combat. Villeins and serfs once crushed would not rise again for many years. But ignorance, bigotry, intolerance and obscurantism are never weary and never sleep.

They have carved on Woodrow Wilson's tomb no effigy and no inscription, but simply a naked

sword. It is a symbol of magnificent audacity to carve upon the sepulchre of the protagonist of peace. It recalls the audacity of another suggestion that comes perhaps somewhat too faintly down the centuries: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword!"

The South, God knows, has cause to be weary of wars. The doctrines of pacificism are wondrous sweet to her, still crippled by ancient wounds. It is no marvel that her leaders are still impressed with the belief that the highest patriotic service they can render is the suppression of strife, the avoidance of disputation, the rigorous ironing out of all dissent. But that doctrine grows pernicious when concord is purchased at the price of spiritual and moral compromise. The social significance of Woodrow Wilson is the fact that he stands as a tremendous denial of the doctrine that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be worth purchase at the price of moral and intellectual chains and slavery.

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We call ourselves Wilson men in the South because we gave large majorities to the Democratic party, and because we are always ready to cheer an orator's mention of Wilson, as we cheer his mention of Lee. But in his lifetime what Lee needed at his back was not orators, but men-at-arms. What Wilson needed was not talkers, but fighters. The question has been raised as to whether the South is worthy of Lee. Is it any more worthy of Wilson? That question cannot be answered in words, but only in deeds, deeds done in the name of Wilson, who was a fighting man, a man, if you choose, of violence. If Wilson could speak to the Southerner who protests his devotion to the ideals of the dead leader, it is easy to imagine that he might listen without comment to all the oratory, and then reply in the words of a hero of an old-fashioned romance: "Sir, I am waiting for you to draw."

## A RESTATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

AS ONE views the kaleidoscopic developments and the multifarious forms of what has come to be known as social work, a term for which there is no synonym either in English or any other language, one's mind does yearn for some kind of unifying element which will serve to hold these activities into a distinguishable group. Carefully to analyse and classify these activities was not in this assignment, but it does seem necessary to indicate what is at least a significant, though perhaps not peculiar, characteristic of social work.

Among other things, it is an effort to hybridize the institutions and bodies of knowledge which the human family now possesses. We want to cross fertilize in a rather practical way many lines of human thought and endeavor. Let me illustrate. In family case work we are weaving together all sorts of methods and all sorts of facts: Miss Richmond borrows from the methods of legal science and historical research to bring together a picture of a situation in which medical, psychological, economic, religious, and many other organized bodies of thinking contribute their quotas. Welfare Federation officials are up against the job of hybridizing economic factors, financial practices, the philanthropic habits of a people, and something in the nature of a community plan.

Social work in the interest of prisoners must reckon with criminal laws and their enforcement, with psychiatry, with education, with economic factors and family support, a host of health matters such as sanitation, nutrition, disease control, with the education and attitude of the general public, and many other aspects of life.

At the present day we have new hybridizations going on rapidly. The mental hygiene of industry, intelligence testing and child placement; health education and the labor movement; anthropology and immigration, the army tests and immigration, etc., etc.

It seems to me that one of the more characteristic things a social worker does is to further certain of these hybridizations. He is continually

insisting that what have hitherto been thought irrelevant facts must be reclassified and made relevant. We call this process considering a case or a situation on its merits rather than in some formal way. "Its merits" usually mean the interests of the persons most intimately involved. Right here is one of the places where social workers get into the most difficulties and at the same time make their most distinctive contributions. They want continually to widen the circle of relevant facts to be considered in a given situation. In the discussion of the Shepherd-Towner Act for instance, the social workers insist that the facts of the mortality of mothers and babies and the poverty of local resources in many places must be given consideration as well as the national budget and the wisdom of granting subsidies by the central government. The facts of child labor seem to them equally important with the facts of constitutional history or the theories of constitutional development.

Almost all social legislation results from the attempt, more or less timely in a given set of circumstances, and more or less skillful, to get into the legal institutions of our country matters which have hitherto been considered on some other basis.

Now departure from old forms which defined what in a given situation were relevant considerations and what were not, is hazardous and can be taken in comparative safety *only* if one knows quite precisely what he is doing. That is if one is seriously proposing that an element hitherto ignored in settling an issue or effecting an adjustment now be taken into consideration, he must realize and try to think out not only what that consideration will mean in this particular case, but also what he is doing to a given institution in society—how he is changing the traditional mode of meeting that situation. He may regard old precedents as nuisances but that does not alter the fact that what we actually succeed in doing becomes a precedent for many others and may arise to add to the collection of nuisances.



If this view of social work is in any sense valid, what does it imply regarding the most advantageous forms of educational preparation? The time is too recent when the professional education of all social workers was self administered, for us to say now that *any* definite bit of knowledge or skill is either indispensable or wholly without uses somewhere in the field. All kinds of specialized knowledge of the professions, business, journalism, the arts, the ability to do skilled, and even unskilled manual labor, may come in handy somewhere, while on the other hand, almost any collection of abilities, whatever its omissions, may somewhere find a market, but there are certain qualities, skills and backgrounds which we now think the evolving activities of social work are beginning to require in the youngest generation, at least. I shall try to describe these.

In setting forth what seems to me necessary, it will be my intention partially, at least, to ignore the difficulties of schools in achieving the results requested. Difficulties growing out of the nature of the profession itself will be considered incidentally. The problems arising out of one or another type of school or educational method will be left to the consideration of those speaking from the standpoint of educators.

Before analysing the personal qualities, as distinguished from the acquired skills and background of knowledge, it is perhaps in order to confess to the belief that in their finer shadings those personal qualities get their tones quite as much from the skills and backgrounds as are the latter influenced by the personal qualities. That is, outside of persons in the lower levels of intelligence and those with actual personality disorders, it is possible to build, in a measure, that sense of workmanship, of confidence, of courage, of sympathy even, which are usually specified as necessary for a successful career in social work. To list certain desirable personal qualities as if they were unit characters, like polydactylism, which one either has or has not at birth, is not very productive because one tends to start with such a paragon that education would only spoil him. This paper starts from the assumption that for social workers, personal qualities as well as acquired skills and backgrounds are not born but *made*. "Thus may courses in social science

give to many a raw recruit of social work grounds for acting with the tolerance, the respect for individuals, the single and unaccusing eye on present and future possibilities which their elders and maybe betters had (when they had them at all) as the rare and not to be commanded gifts of sheer humanity and wisdom."<sup>1</sup>

It cannot be forgotten, however, in the excitements of a campaign to build up an enrollment in the schools that the hope of developing these qualities rests on success in securing fairly good mental and physical material, and what is equally important to consider is that the making process has started long before the young person falls into the hands of a school of social service and what has gone before will greatly condition the efforts of the schools themselves in the short time at their disposal.

Some of the difficulties of social work arise out of the assumption, sometimes made, that fairly good mental and physical material will, if put into a position of responsibility, inevitably evolve into a good social worker. We see far too many instances of people in social work, and once in a while one in the field of teaching courses in it, who start with desirable qualities developed elsewhere, but do not know the job. Some learn the job soon enough to keep from degenerating; others do not. Very few people can preserve for long the qualities of courage, humor, frankness and kindness when in their hearts they have the uneasy sense of trying to fill a position for which they are not prepared. It is a common observation that a defensive attitude about oneself is apt to breed just the opposite of the qualities mentioned above. On the one hand we see many instances of the development of effective personality from what was far from being a psychological sledge hammer at the beginning. It seems to grow out of pride in doing a skilled job and then fighting to protect that workmanship. It will, perhaps, be sufficient to say that the executives of social agencies welcome the young person who is kind and brave, frank and with a sense of humor. It is also helpful if this young person is able to make an approximately accurate estimate of his or her own equipment for the different forms of social work.

<sup>1</sup> Alice Cheyney: *A Definition of Social Work*, p. 54.

In selecting young people for preparation for careers in social work,—and certainly the unit costs of such education suggest the necessity for careful selection from all points of view—it would seem to be the part of wisdom, first, to get a rather complete picture of the young person's own social and educational history and a full statement from *him* as to reasons why he thinks he would like to devote his life to social service. From these and from additional facts secured from persons who have supervised his educational preparation and any work he may have done, it ought to be possible to judge roughly regarding his social attitudes, including his appraisal of himself. It will also often furnish a definite point of departure for the cultivation of his personal qualities and for the modification of his attitudes. It has often been observed that the schools for social work, while in the very act of teaching social case method, somehow omit to practice it themselves and fail to individualize their own service.

The state of social work itself at present often renders it difficult to say just what, in terms of results, is to be expected of a social worker in the community. Thus an accurate appraisal either by the worker himself, his supervisors, or the community is wellnigh impossible. But the knowledge and understanding of this very difficulty itself is a most necessary part of the social worker's equipment. Alice Cheyney's "A Definition of Social Work" quoted above is an example of an attempt to clarify a vague situation and thus to enable all social workers to extricate themselves from false positions. Surely this sort of knowledge is needed in the armor of every young knight errant in this field.

Next let us take the skills needed in the numerous activities grouped under the heading of social work. All positions in this field share alike in their demand that the persons filling them should have:

1. The power of accurate and somewhat objective observation of individuals and groups in their social relationships,
2. The power of accurate description,
3. The ability both to analyse and to synthesize a body of facts regarding an immediate social situation,
4. The power to record clearly the processes gone through in seeking to change the situation.
5. The power to relate this immediate social situation to a larger social background.

Whether one is doing a piece of family or individual case work, whether one is handling a club, a committee or an association, the ability to record and analyse what is going on seems indispensable. Whether one is keeping a set of minutes, or making a case history or conducting a research study, he needs these abilities if his work is to be meaningful and to integrate itself in the social milieu. He must know *what* he is dealing with and he must keep track, through some systematic recording device, of what he is doing in the situation. That is, he must know how to organize himself and his activities in reference to given situations.

For the various types of positions in social work these indispensable abilities must be complemented by others equally indispensable. Case work has its special list of applied arts, based upon growing bodies of knowledge such as the psychology of behavior, the social resources of the community and the laws on domestic relations. With all of this knowledge he must combine the ability to present new points of view and new interests to a client so persuasively that he is led to new ways of life. That means drawing for the client a new circle of relevant facts and teaching him to grapple with them and their implications.

Group work likewise has its emerging social psychology and educational psychology, the special arts of leading recreational activities or promoting public discussion or the organization of thinking upon some social project.

Social research must be founded upon a knowledge of statistical method and of the available publicly recorded facts, such as the census bureau collects, and the enormous body of materials piling up as the records of courts and of public and private administrative agencies.

Skill in the application of all of this knowledge and in the arts can only be acquired by actual doing in real situations under able direction and patient supervision.

Case work, group work, research, each is applicable in many departments of life, and as each finds its immediate application there are yet other bodies of knowledge which must be a part of the equipment of the practitioner. Special knowledge of eugenics, of industrial or labor conditions, of schools, of police systems, courts and penal institutions, political science, special knowledge of



health activities and medical institutions, of immigrant backgrounds, these and other bodies of information must be acquired for one or another branch of social work.

All of this knowledge needs to be accurate and realistic if it would be actually helpful. It is unfortunately true that such information is hard to secure, hard to organize, hard to convey to others. Generalizations are easier to handle, sound more impressive and are often welcomed by students as of far more significance than some particular facts about a particular situation. Yet the young social worker, armed only with generalized knowledge, will find his tools much too large for the job he undertakes to do even though his collection of generalizations refers to many aspects of life and each is in the main true. He will find himself equipped with pick and crow bar for the task of repairing watches.

It is the keen sense of the delicacy of the job and the necessity of finding a feasible place in which to perform the operation of the hybridization of knowledge and skills that have made social workers incline so greatly to the case method both in treatment and in teaching. While there is doubtless great merit in bringing together great bodies of fact and of theory from different fields of knowledge as has been done, for instance, in the welding of theoretical economics and theoretical psychology, social workers are prone to the belief that it is in the lives of living, breathing people that social causes arise and that effects are registered. There is where we must look to find them. If they can't actually be seen there, they remain for social workers only interesting hunches which may sometime be tested. Meanwhile they furnish little basis for action for those not directly interested in testing them.

And now we come to the question of educational background and its correlate, one's philosophy of life. What kind of philosophy of life does a social worker need, not as a basis for his program of action in the outside world but as a means of keeping his own intellectual and emotional poise? As long as Santayana, Havelock Ellis and other minds of that calibre feel that nothing yet professionally produced in our western civilization is a sure and sufficient philosophy, poor social workers will have to worry along on

a kind of homemade, improvised variety,—and sometimes I think some manage to get along pretty well with little if any. They are driven so by what seem to them such obvious needs, that no inner argument arises. I shall attempt the description of only one humble concoction which has been fairly efficacious when the inner argument did break out. For the first ingredient I would suggest that if the social worker is to keep his poise or find solace for the thousands of inevitable disappointments and defeats, he must have a good long historical perspective constantly in working order. How do we know anything ever will change or ever can be changed? Only by knowing something about what has actually happened in the past. Of course in these pessimistic days one frequently hears people who do have historical perspective gravely questioning whether the changes now occurring in social organization are bringing what by any interpretation could be called human betterment, whether the human family is approaching or receding from a stable harmony with nature, and whether anything that any one has ever done has had anything to do with it. When a social worker feels that way he usually begins to think about returning to the form. In this matter of historical perspective I find myself falling back on a bit of advice my grandmother gave her daughter about seasoning food. When asked for an absolute answer regarding the exact quantity of salt to put in a certain dish she remarked, "Well, of course, it would be flat with too little salt, but on the other hand, it should not be briny. I should say you had better put in just enough." If one follows this recipe and is looking for encouragement, he will probably carefully choose the point in history from which to measure improvement in the aspect of life in which he is concerned. For matters of health and longevity it is probably best to go back about a hundred yards. It would be a mistake to go back to Methuselah. In recreation, our Puritan ancestors furnish a good starting point. In education one will perhaps derive the greatest consolation if he compares the present with the period of the barbarian invasions of western Europe. If one is interested in improving public administration, his darkest hour will be lightened by contemplating Caligula or Nicholas II.

The second ingredient I would suggest for the social worker's philosophy is the ability and the habit of viewing every situation in more than one dimension. Certainly he will be out of luck in the cross word puzzle of a social worker's life if he can see things in but one way. He must see the situations with which he is dealing as affecting individuals here and now and also as affecting the long chain of events by which is changed the composition of the mores in their sometimes glacial, sometimes more accelerated drift. If he is able to add a third dimension to his thinking, so much the better. He will be able to integrate matters not in the plane of his two-dimensional thinking. Perhaps here he will be able to relate what he is doing to some great system of abstract philosophy. And there might sometime be a great genius who could discover a fourth or even a fifth dimension! He might see some connection between what he is doing and the great cosmic forces that hold the stars in their courses. His philosophy would, however, be too salty for general consumption in the profession.

Perhaps one should add to this requirement of ability to see things in more than one dimension, the ability to view a circumstance or event in more than one focus. That consists largely of the habit of asking oneself just how this matter which looms so large on the horizon at this moment will look with precisely the same interests in mind next year or ten years hence. That is, of course, unknowable, but the very act of asking such a question helps us to refocus now and take in a little more of the surrounding territory. I might add that by this process though some matters drop entirely out of sight, others grow in size.

These then, I take it, are at least some of the immediate objectives which education for social work must consider:

1. The selection of students with good mental equipment and without personality disorders;
2. The cultivation of the qualities of courage, humor, frankness, and kindliness;

3. The initiation of the young person into the difficulties inherent in an evolving and as yet uncrystallized and perhaps uncrystallizable profession;
4. The cultivation of powers of accurate observation, of skillful recording of both observation and action taken;
5. The mastery of certain definite bodies of concrete information;
6. The beginning at least of skill in certain definite techniques;
7. The cultivation of the historical point of view;
8. The cultivation of powers of examining a given situation from different points of view.

As I glance over this array of requirements seemingly so simple, so obvious, so common place, and then as I remember my own struggles to achieve only a few of them with a small number of students, all I can say is that educators in this field have my sympathy.

Of one thing there seems practical certainty. These ends are not to be achieved separately. They somehow must be worked out in combinations in which several of them are products and by-products of one teaching and learning operation. It seems therefore, reasonable to conclude that teachers in many if not all of the professional subjects must needs have experienced social work in some intimate, and I think I should also say sympathetic, way as a part of their own preparation. There may be some people whose imaginations are so sensitive that observation of others is sufficient to give them insight, but I do not believe there are enough such people that a method of teacher preparation based on non-participating observation can be relied upon as the usual procedure.

I declared at the outset my intention to keep clear of educational ways and means. If the educators can by any ways or means, succeed in bringing into being those essentials which I have listed, the profession of social work will owe them an unpayable debt. But then we are not in the habit of recompensing educators for their services!



## JUDGE LONGSTREET OF GEORGIA

JOHN WADE

A CERTAIN lady long ago wrote a cookbook that attained wide popularity throughout the South. Canny person that she was, this author was rich in her suggestions of alternatives. "Use," she would say, "the juice of three lemons—or, if lemons are not at hand, vinegar may be substituted."

It is a puzzle to find out how often a good Georgian in mixing the patrio-historic dressing for his life is bound to resort to second choices. What magnificent rich cherry is there which he can impress for garnishment, what quite inimitable sprig of parsley, what watercress? We have Alexander Stephens to show, and we have Lanier. The disposition is strong to acclaim others; if one garnishment is not at hand, why, then—

Then Longstreet. He was of us, for us, with us. To name the impulses that bore him on, and to trace his stout, at last unavailing resistance to those impulses imply the blocking out of a sketch that one would swear inconsequential did not the hasty lines of it inevitably keep falling into shapes that are tragic and even noble. Tragic, chiefly because he was brave; noble, chiefly because he was true. Bravery he manifested in common with the pioneer nation to which he belonged; truth he manifested most strikingly apart from it.

The dominion of candor is apparently not yet established anywhere in this world. In the United States, and particularly in the South, its claims upon human allegiance seem rather less strong than they do elsewhere. It is safe to say that our condition did not occultly rise up out of hell to stifle us; it developed from many great and slight causes. Some of these are cosmic in import and need not be discussed; but it is as well in passing, to single out at least one of them, perhaps the chief, namely, the wicked and deceitful heart of man. That, we can hardly at this time, very comfortably put from us.

There are some other considerations, however, which can be pretty definitely isolated and examined. One of them is the Puritan's refusal to

attach importance to any craving that has its origin in the senses. Another is the pioneer's refusal to admit the existence of anything which might discourage immigration. Still another, more evident in the post-bellum South than elsewhere, is the instinctive refusal of any man to throw a burden of unfavorable opinions upon a fellow creature already struggling for life.

What, in principle, would have been the judgment of, say, Cotton Mather, upon the importance of substituting vinegar for lemon juice? He would probably have thought the whole matter too trivial for his attention, but if compelled to say just *why* it was too trivial, he would have reasoned this way: it is all an affair of sensuous enjoyment, and concern about it would only take up time that ought to be spent pondering eternal mysteries. Now most pioneer Americans were largely brought up on Mather's own catechism. They feared God quite as much as he did.

And they loved man and what man makes somewhat more than he did. These American forests were lonesome and dangerous; and there was much sentiment in early times (as there is in Miami and Los Angeles in these times) toward going any length to further pleasant report of the new lands, in districts naturally looked upon as reservoirs of population and wealth.

Governor John Winthrop in his history of New England gives the edifying story of some caitiffs who in 1642 abandoned Massachusetts and returned to England. On their voyage they spoke reproachfully of the people and the country they had left. Straightway storms broke upon them. "Then they humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them. Only one of them had not joined the rest, but spake well of the people and of the country; upon this, it pleased the Lord to spare their lives. Yet the Lord followed them on shore. One had a daughter that presently ran mad. Another, a schoolmaster, had no sooner hired an house, and gotten in some scholars, but the plague set in and took away two of his children."

Bad "religion," then, to indulge oneself in changes that would gratify only temporal demands; bad "patriotism" to admit publicly that all is not precisely as it should be. In both of these matters Longstreet was fortunate. In "religion," he was skeptical, and in "patriotism," too devoted to believe that his country needed prescriptive adulation. He was inherently frank, and he was endowed with the perspective that came of a long residence away from home. He was also fortunate in that his principal activities began just at the moment when Georgia at large was most buoyantly self-confident—long enough *after* the state had obviously got under way for a prosperous voyage, long enough *before* the seas had been made choppy by the unwearied suspirations of the abolitionists.

As a boy about Augusta, Longstreet was aggressive in everything except intellectual attainment, but when he was about seventeen years old he came under the influence of a young fellow named George McDuffie, a sort of intellectual prodigy who was so amiable that Longstreet decided to be as nearly like him as possible. That decision necessitated a brand of education different from any he had yet known.

It was generally conceded that the Reverend Doctor Moses Waddel, who was then conducting a back-woods school some miles above Augusta, could give out learning according to unique and effective methods. With contagious enthusiasm he aimed to apply reason starkly, to life as well as to education, but he did not stint the perverse humor of his mind which was always showing him how absurdly, on occasion, his program might work out.

Longstreet became a student at this school; and he was influenced there, profoundly, by Waddel himself, and by the numerous promising young men with whom he formed friendships. But most of all, he was influenced by John C. Calhoun, Doctor Waddel's brother-in-law, then just back from his educational ventures in New England. He, too, seemed to Longstreet the very pink of amiability, worthier of imitation, perhaps, than McDuffie.

Calhoun had been a student at Yale, and later, in Litchfield, Connecticut, at a law school which was then the best of its kind in this country. Longstreet followed him. After about two years

at each place he returned to Georgia, and when he was twenty-five years old entered upon the practice of law. This was in 1815.

Two years more, and Longstreet removed from Augusta to Greensboro, a village about seventy-five miles away toward the now rapidly retreating frontier. His parents had followed this movement from New Jersey to Georgia and it was natural that he, in turn, should follow it also; but it is likely that the definite cause of his going to Greensboro was his marriage to a young woman of that place.

Francis Eliza Parke was eighteen years old, an heiress in her own right; and one of the items of her wealth was about thirty slaves. Longstreet's marriage with her did two things for him. It enmeshed him in the blissful coils of a domesticity that at last wrested—or allured as to brighter worlds—his naturally free-thinking religious impulses into the most conforming orthodoxy. It also involved him straightway, rich man now that he was, in the almost equally blissful coils of an economic order which, everywhere more and more assailed from without, was beginning to demand of its votaries a compliance more and more absolute.

Before he was led away from himself into the castle of respectable formalism, then still in the building, he struggled so manfully that one finds it hard ever to leave off loving him. And indeed throughout his life, as a sort of royal prisoner, he was always, from time to time, uttering whoops of derisive laughter or mirthful sympathy that must have seemed very unmannerly to his house-mates.

Fannie Parke's father and mother found themselves captivated by their new son-in-law. And everybody else was captivated. The young man was extremely well informed, and his manners were ingratiating. He was garrulous and given to much joking, distinctive, but not too conspicuously an original to be respectable. He believed that the American Revolution was the crowning event of all history, and he felt himself, in his simple capacity of American citizen, "standing above the rest of the world on a lofty peak of moral elevation." Such sentiments were popular.

Now it is obviously not a stimulant to effort to consider oneself thus far superior to one's fellows,



but Longstreet was above everything companionable—not only, in actuality, with his neighbors, but, in fancy, with any living creature his imagination might confront him with. It seems sure that he indulged himself in his vision of superiority more fully when he was mounted on some rostrum for campaign purposes, than he did while he was whittling out picture frames, or grafting his apple trees, or pottering away with his silk worms, or conducting his little loan business.

Lofty patriotic sentiment, it is true, he probably reserved most generally for lofty rostrums, but patriotic utterances, nevertheless, played their sure part in sending him to the state legislature in 1821, and in procuring for him a year later a position as Judge of the Superior Court. In 1824, he became a candidate for election to the national congress, and every chance seemed moving as he would have it.

Then, in the midst of his campaign, he suffered the death of his little son, Alfred. He withdrew from the race and entered upon a religious inquiry, which resulted most satisfactorily. He had been a skeptic; within a fortnight, he says, all his doubts vanished. Within three years he became a member of the Methodist Church; within ten years more, a minister.

But Longstreet found trouble in being *anything* unreservedly. The Methodists of his time were cold to sensuous appeal, deaf to many claims to virtue advanced by people whose religious dogma (it was reported) did not coincide with the dogma which (it was reported) was the lodestar of Methodism. The new convert had heard much argument about it and about, up to his thirty-eighth year, before he capitulated, and he was not so easily to give over the rigidity of his convictions. There were some points he preferred about the Methodists, and some others about the Baptists. He said so. As for the conventional animosity he ought to feel for the Baptist denomination, he simply could not rise to it—he had wandered too long in darkness ever quite to get the knack of things. For the life of him he could never understand why if a Catholic prayed a good prayer it was improper for him to chime in with Amen—he went that far.

As for asceticism, he wondered how a thing so rarely practiced could be so generally preached.

"I cannot," he says, "think that the interest of religion is served by cutting off any one innocent enjoyment." Dangerous talk that, from a temperance agitator, particularly from one who would not himself become a "teetotaler."

Longstreet lived in Greensboro ten years before again taking up his residence in Augusta. Those ten years, and what he learned in them, their friendliness and informality of intercourse, their slapdash versatility of attainment, their disposition to revere standard virtues and neglect other virtues—these forever thereafter created the Judge's unique spiritual stock-in-trade. They are attributes that do not lose their freshness if they are properly cured; and frankness is among the best of all salts.

To many people it is not a tasteful salt; but a mature man who has truth clamoring in his heart cannot hold his counsel always out of regard for popular sensibilities.

During the early 1830's, Longstreet set forth, in a series of half-actual half-fictitious newspaper sketches, his observations on the social development of Georgia. They are kindly and humorous, but they do not gloss over any defects, nor do they weaken their indictment with any confession of burlesque—on the contrary, the author states explicitly that they are not burlesque. No one could tell how they would be received. They were printed anonymously, but the secret of their authorship soon transpired, and Longstreet was generously praised everywhere. He had kept off the subjects that important people are traceably connected with, and everyone was able to think that the sketches had reference to his neighbors rather than to himself. They were excessively popular throughout the United States up to the period of the Civil War; and to the present, under their collective title, *Georgia Scenes*, they retain significance as one of the earliest examples of American realism.

People are willing enough to accept social comment made under a veil of humor, but the more direct type of criticism that find itself nagging the world toward exertion is less welcome. When Longstreet began nagging, his contemporaries soon found instinctively what to do with him; they put him at the head of a boys' school where nagging is held salutary, and where it cannot be

resented. Their liberality in tolerating him even in that fastness was remarkable. It was due somewhat, of course, to the fact that he had become a preacher—and preachers are supposed to quarrel—but it was due more largely to the fact that the evils he named were then too patently in way of remedying themselves to need either denial or justification. A little earlier, or a little later, this could not have been the case.

But Longstreet was not so easily shut up. He had some very definite suggestions as yet to make about politics.

Nationally, he thought Georgia should adopt Nullification. His advice was disregarded, and he divulged his opinion that a good many states would probably surprise some people before long by withdrawing from the then existing Union and associating themselves with a Union formed about Texas as a nucleus. They would, in short, go west.

Locally, politics did not suit him much better. The idealism he once observed, or thought he observed, was somehow absent. He was in position to see the corrupt courses of government and he thought it incumbent on him to speak his knowledge. The way to be elected to office in Georgia, he says, is to "treat liberally, ape dignity here, crack obscene jokes there, sing vulgar songs in one place, talk gravely in another." And the legislature, filled with mountebanks and demagogues, "has enacted measures which for extravagance and folly have no parallel in the codes of enlightened nations." For Longstreet's part, he was independent. He held it the "bounden duty of a candidate openly to avow his sentiments, particularly those which are averse to the prevailing opinion of those to whom he offers himself." It is hardly necessary to set down the result of his various candidacies.

Logic left him only one retort: the people were not fit to govern themselves, anyhow. Whither, then, might they look for guidance? Hardly to any crown-heads; hardly to Judge Longstreet; perhaps, then, to God.

When Longstreet was a little boy in Augusta his father took him to a show at which, it developed, one of the actors was so presumptuous as to make Mr. Longstreet Sr. the subject of a facetious ballad. The gentleman withdrew from

the theater in great heat; the fresh air outside was more to his liking. The son never forgot that magnificent method of rebuke.

The political theater of Georgia in the late 1830's was ribald, and the man who as a little boy had once seen his father withdraw so effectively, now began picturing himself as outside *this* house altogether, bathed in the fresh air of moral and mystical speculation. "Human laws and governments," he wrote, "have ever failed and ever must fail of their ends. The Christian religion would supersede them all."

In accord, then, with youthful memories, as well as with pioneer instinct, whenever one place grew insupportable, Longstreet moved on to another. He became a minister of the Methodist Church in 1838. Entering a new realm, he carried over with him no contrivances to mollify the buffeting he might encounter. A plague fell upon the city of Augusta, but he remained there, faithful to the nicest whispers of his conscience, exposing himself to the disease unguardedly whenever he could make himself useful.

A year later, at nearly fifty, he accepted the presidency of Emory College, a Methodist institution only a few months in operation. Here, as his wont had been, the Judge was frank and adventurous, and by consequence, at times quarrelsome. But youth is very tolerant of frankness and venturesomeness—more tolerant than age, with its accumulation of secret misdeeds and its stiff joints, can well afford to be—and it was accordingly in his contact with youngsters that Longstreet did the best work of his life. If a policy of his, helpful in that it restrained his students, at times restrained him also in its operation, he stood to his position and bore his punishment. This engaging procedure, so rarely observed among mature persons, seemed to the bizarre judgment of youth, not folly, but very worshipful honesty. And he had a way of thought comprehensible to people who have yet before them some fifty or sixty years in which to accomplish things. "Merit, like water," he told his students, "will find its level, though it may have to wind through many a loaming vale, and leap many a rugged precipice before it does so."

The President further won the regard of his students by his attitude toward the important



matter of enjoying oneself. Hard to please as he was, he seldom talked of what is *forbidden*—those things he made clear by example, his way of living. As for precept—through that, one heard chiefly of bright virtues to which any true man might lift up his heart, passionately.

With what eager pride his following of boys must have gabbled over the long debate, between their idol and another minister, with reference to the iniquity of employing instrumental music in divine services. Longstreet thought music would really help, and he said so, earnestly, vigorously, but with unvarying dignity. His opponent was so violent, so ranting, that only a very spiritless young fellow could have witnessed the fray without having his sympathies stirred in behalf of a fighter who was too brave to adopt the barbarous tactics of his adversary.

But not students only, admired Longstreet's course at the General Conference of the Methodist Church held in 1844. Even the numerous good Southerners who had always thought him dangerous were bound after that event to consider him a benefactor. Amid the rasp and bickering of that obscene week, Longstreet stood cool and helpful and conciliatory. But patience has its limits. At last, he decided, with his bloc, that the free air of the slave-owning South was more to his liking than any air contaminated with Northern breathings could be, ever. And from the theater of that Conference he withdrew in great heat.

So was the Methodist church—representing the phase of American life which is spiritual—divided, its parts alienated (certainly for as long as eighty years) over an issue which later (for only four years) entered wedge-fashion into the phase of American life which is political. But this rather indecent contrast would not have been embarrassing to Longstreet. In effect, the Northern delegates at that Conference had sung mocking ballads about causes that were sacred to him—primarily about the conscientiousness of Bishop Andrew, his neighbor and dear friend, and for his part, he was through with those delegates quite permanently. He became one of the most violent of all separatists; he doubted whether there was a good Methodist in the entire North.

In 1848 the President of Emory College in Georgia became for a few months the President

of Centenary College in Louisiana. And then for several years he was President of the University of Mississippi. On any map those places are both west of Georgia, and that alone gave them some fascination in Longstreet's mind. Before entering the ministry he had long been haunted with an idea that if he could only move west he could speedily get rich. And on Longstreet's map, at least, the business of being head of a state school lay somewhat west of the business of being head of a church school. Who was he, by a wilful fixity, to be hindering, perhaps thwarting, the Course of Empire? And beside, there was the consideration of a wider field of usefulness—of course, there was that.

In Mississippi, it was held that to manifest an interest in politics is incompatible with the ideally cloistered life of a scholar. To get Longstreet into a cloister, however, was more than all the trustees and all their horses could accomplish. He saw the Know Nothing Party becoming powerful, and he believed it a great menace. It seemed to him cowardly and false, utterly divorced from any good. Trustees might tug till they grew tired. He would denounce cowardice and falsehood so long as he had breath, God helping him. If they tugged to the extent of annoying him, he threatened to resign, and they desisted. He had saved the school from ruin and made it powerful, and it was good tactics to retain him. Once, however, they went too far, and the old man in exasperation executed his threat, withdrawing shortly afterwards to a nearby farm on which he hoped to end his days, peacefully.

In little over a year he was in South Carolina, President of the State College at Columbia. Know Nothings had ceased from troubling him, but his unwearied spirit had found rest altogether intolerable. He was only sixty-eight, and Yankee abolitionists were menacing the peace of this continent. Their policy seemed to him cowardly and false, utterly divorced from any good. He would denounce cowardice and falsehood so long as—and so forth. Trustees we have with us always. There was one at hand to remonstrate—it happened a personal friend of old standing. Letters were exchanged. The one from the President stated that the writer loved his correspondent dearly, and was always interested to learn the

opinions of a friend; the suggestions of a trustee, however, regarding a matter of non-official conduct—were these not a little intrusive? But more people, doubtless, than one lone trustee considered the old man outside his bounds.

There were troubles also within the college. The discipline of the institution had so declined that it could be restored only by very drastic measures. On that score, too, there was complaint. It was whispered that the president was not vitally interested in his classes. Damocles remembered his magic formula, and busied himself whetting a resignation, but before he could hoist it, new circumstances turned dissent into a din of acclamation.

He had had such luck before this. The acclaim this time had its genesis in London. Longstreet was there in 1860 as the representative of the United States at a gathering of scientists—it was a politician, one should state, who appointed him, not by any means the Lord God, not even Agassiz. When the scientists were assembled, a negro was introduced to them, and they were indiscreet enough to cheer. Longstreet simply would not abide it; in the grandest possible manner he stalked out of that convention. Cautious and sensible trustees thenceforth might reason as they would, but their reasoning had best be done inside their own heads, and kept there. President Longstreet was canonized; he was a grand old man, and Yankees and upstart niggers were equally despicable, and there was little chance of holding off a war anyway.

*Little chance? Little wish to hold it off.*

Then it comes, explosive, crashing, insatiate. The world tumbles in before it, and old Longstreet, set off frantically, goes hurtling round, catching vainly at all manner of things which suddenly now turn as unstable as himself. Hold it off? He would give his life to hold it off. Who dreamed the disagreement would come to this? Who dreamed it? For the South to be fighting the North, that truly was an occurrence greatly to be deprecated, but for young John Heyward to be going out to let some wretches shoot the life out of him, for young George Rhett to be going—(how that boy will keep reminding one, somehow, of little Alfred Longstreet, dead now these forty years!)—did one dream these boys

would be so foolish? South and North, all right; but John Heyward and George Rhett—*No! No! No!* We know what that hysteria came to. John Heyward knew, also, before the year was out; and George Rhett, likewise. And others knew.

Once Longstreet recognized the war was inevitable, he furthered his section's cause in every way at his command. His nephew, James Longstreet, and his son-in-law, L. Q. C. Lamar, were figures of great prominence in the struggle, and he himself was throughout the long four years associated with the most important functionaries conceivable. He ranged over the country from South Carolina to Mississippi, and in spirit he ranged the whole earth and all past time seeking everywhere some sure swift stratagem whereby he could foil the wicked power of the oppressor. His activity was unbounded. Letters to Lamar, letters to nephew James, manifestoes to the Southern Armies, went from him constantly. He was busy, too, with the social obligations which naturally devolve upon a distinguished man who unremittingly chooses distinguished people for his hosts. And he was busy preaching to the soldiers, busy mistrusting President Davis, busy wishing General Lee would use his spade less and his gun more, busy teaching arithmetic to little white and negro children, busy praying God, fervently, fervently, not to hear the prayers ascending to Him daily in behalf of Grant.

Then Appomattox. His dear South lay quite broken. It was as if at the end of some dark foreboding he had come upon the mangled body of a sweet child, a delicate girl, whom he had loved with utmost tenderness. Life was so flat to him. Every syllable of reprimand that he had ever spoken to her rose to his mind to sear it. O, God, if you will spare her, spare her, never, never while I live will I say aught to her except in way of praise!

And every neighbor of his, every friend, was bowed in equal grief. Never, never against the names of people who had suffered so unjustly could he again let his swift mind enregister one fault. He could only love them, and, on Sundays, preach to them of bright Heaven and its joys of reunited love, sing to them, upon occasion, in the course of his sermons, hymns whose rolling cad-



ences seemed at times to bear them all up well-nigh against the gleaming ramparts of Paradise.

But at last that stricken child regains her strength, and certain people, remembering her past hoydenish enterprises, think it well to shake a finger, and say that recklessness and folly may always expect an overthrow. But to Longstreet and his kind, the barest hint of blame is heinous sacrilege. At all costs, that kind of talk must be silenced forthwith, conclusively. That, then, was a thing to live for. And so the old weary processes, re-exhilarated by the wine of a new aim, begin afresh.

Books to read, vindications to establish, investives to hurl, Bible manuscripts to translate, grandchildren to teach the art of flute-playing, land records to make unmistakable, God, always, to be prayed to. How the days go!

One morning a friend saw him grafting apple-

twigs. "Judge," he inquired, "do you ever expect to eat any apples off that twig?" "No," the old man answered, "but someone else will."

Briefly now, he knew well, he would be moving on. What of it? Across the world he had left his trail of apple trees—in Augusta, in Greensboro, around Emory College, in Louisiana, in Mississippi. Always he had planted in full knowledge that he might reap no benefit—so shifting a world it is—but he had never therefore planted the less faithfully. . . . It is a trait to be very glad over.

\* \* \*

In the summer of 1870, the old transient cleared out, definitely, his face beaming as with a vision, his lips—obeying the dictate of a still resilient mind—calling aloud, "Look! Look!" What fine new country a little west, there, did those eyes behold?

## ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF CRIMINALS\*

J. L. GILLIN

**I**N ADDITION to the incentive to crime found in the unequal distribution of wealth and the feverish struggle for economic and social prestige there are other economic conditions which affect the rate of criminality. The business cycles, the resulting unemployment in times of depression, the speculative eras in times of economic expansion, business failures, and want, poor housing, lack of sanitation consequent upon business depression, furnish disturbances which incite to crime.

To Bonger and his school the capitalistic organization of society, as he calls it, is the mother of all crimes. By the capitalistic organization of society he means an economic organization on the basis of individual ownership and individual profit. Bad social conditions, such as crowded housing, indecent living conditions, improper care of children, lack of education, denial of opportunity at the higher culture, emphasis upon selfishness instead of upon consideration of social welfare, all due to our present society. He charges also that in addition to these indirect results of the economic system the conduct of industry for individual profit is re-

sponsible for the financial crises, the individual displacements, and the inequitable distribution of wealth which seem to have such a positive effect upon crime. He believes that if the productive instruments of wealth were owned by the state and the profits were removed from modern industry, crime would largely disappear. Then, men would receive the just products of their labor, and they would work for the welfare of the whole group. The profit motive would not dominate industry; poverty with its crushing, degrading influence would not exist; and the present social conditions responsible for so much crime would be removed. Moreover, he believes that the physical and mental incapacity which now accounts for a considerable proportion of crime would cease to exist because, he believes, that these things are produced by the environmental conditions, which, in his opinion, would be changed.

A number of other criminologists, while agreeing that economic conditions and the present economic organization are responsible for some of our crime, have seriously criticised the assumption that a change from individual ownership to national ownership of the instruments of produc-

\* This is the conclusion of Professor Gillin's study, the first part of which appeared in the September JOURNAL.

tion would cause any great decrease in the total number of criminals or the aggregate of crime. For example, Garofalo argues that crime in general is not due to proletarian conditions. He cites figures to prove that the number of criminals from the poor is not so much greater in proportion to their number in the total population than the criminals from the better economic classes. This conclusion he arrived at on the assumption that many of the crimes committed by the poor class are petty agrarian thefts and that the higher number of criminals from among the poor is due to the fact that they cannot afford the money necessary to defeat the ends of justice which the rich, accused of crime, can afford.<sup>9</sup> Tarde, likewise combats the socialist indictment of the present organization by an endeavor to show that the criminality of the proletariat classes is not much greater than that of the higher economic classes and where it is higher it is not due to the present economic organization of society but to the endeavor to acquire wealth, rather than to wealth itself.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, we ought to give some attention to the socialists' assumptions. They assume that the fundamental factor in the economic process which gives value to goods is labor. In this assumption they do violence to sound economic theory, based upon a valid analysis of the factors of production, the discussion of which we must leave to the economists.

Moreover, they leave out of sight the fact that, if population continues to increase while common necessities do not multiply accordingly, under any system an increasing degree of poverty is bound to be the lot of an increasing proportion of the people. This fact cannot be ignored in any discussion of the relation of the economic organization of society to criminality.

They also assume that it is impossible to correct the evils of our present economic society, evils acknowledge by all shades of opinion. According to them it is inherent in the present system that wealth shall be ever increasingly unequally distributed, that the rich inevitably will become richer, and the poor, poorer, and that it is impossible under the present circumstances to provide better conditions of housing, conditions of

living, education, and opportunity to share in the higher culture. They refuse to believe that under the present system the economic gains of the working classes characterizing the last fifty years can be permanent.

Furthermore, it seems to be a foolish hope that a change in the present economic system such as Bonger and his socialist friends suggest would so materially modify for the better the productive capacity of mankind that the race between population and production could be more equal. Not even the socialists have been able to assure us that their proposed change in the economic organization would materially affect the law of population and the law of diminishing returns in industry. Until it can be shown that some method can be devised whereby mankind can reproduce to an unlimited degree and at the same time insure a supply of commodities to meet the reasonable needs of all, we cannot see any way by which poverty with all of its effectiveness in producing criminality can be prevented. Least of all can we see how this change will come about under a system in which all prudential restraints on the multiplication of population are removed, and most of the incentives now operative to effect saving, thrift, and to stimulate industry are destroyed.

Bonger has gone to some length to show that the egoistic tendencies of man, which appear in full form in the criminal, are not innate, but are the result of the mode of production. He attempts to show that in primitive societies the members of the group who share with each other in time of need do so because they have not learned through the use of money to dispose of their surplus products for a commodity which enables them to save their labor from one day to the next. This altruism, says Bonger, rests down upon a system of production which is non-capitalistic, and, therefore, the egoistic impulses are stifled while the altruistic are developed by the fact that unless they help each other in time of need the whole group suffers and may perish. On the other hand, according to this author, the capitalistic system turns loose and develops all the egoistic impulses of man and strangles all his altruistic characteristics.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Garofalo, *Criminology*, Boston, 1914. Pp. 156-157.

<sup>10</sup> *Penal Philosophy*, Boston, 1912. Pp. 389-390.

<sup>11</sup> Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, Boston, 1917. Pp. 381-401.



One who is acquainted with the life of primitive peoples will not forget their poverty and the fact that they have criminals in spite of this system which to Bonger is ideal. The only difference between the poverty of the primitive tribes and the poverty of civilized man is that it is universal among the former. It may be granted that crimes of cupidity are less rare among them than among the civilized, although we have no facts on which to base such a judgment. Nevertheless, however ideal may be the economic organization of primitive people they have their criminals. The customs of every primitive people and the earliest code of laws show us that the primitive peoples have the same struggle with crime as civilized peoples. The assumption of the socialist that a change in the fundamental economic organization would do away with the evils of our society while retaining all of its good points is entirely gratuitous and rests upon no facts in the history of mankind.

#### ECONOMIC CRISES

Enough studies of economic crises or business cycles have now been made to suggest that economic depressions have some influence upon criminality. Ogburn, for example, has shown that the total volume of crimes is greater during business depression. He worked out the coefficient of correlation between suicide and business depression in one hundred cities in the United States from 1900 to 1920 and found it to be  $+0.74$ .<sup>12</sup>

A number of European scholars have given attention to this matter. For example, Hirsch has shown that during the economic depression from 1875-1878 in Baden the number punished by the *Ordnungs-Polizei* rose 40 per cent while the number punished by the authorities having to do with prostitution rose 125 per cent. In the period of prosperity from 1882 to 1885 the figures for these two classes of delinquents fell respectively 16 per cent and 3 per cent. The same author studied recidivism for two periods. From 1889 to 1892 a period of industrial depression, the number of recidivists for theft increased 18 per cent. Between 1875 and 1878, also years of depression, crimes against property rose more than 17 per cent, while from 1882 to 1885, a period of indus-

trial activity, they decreased 13 per cent. Bonger has shown that there was an increase of theft in the years 1875 to 1881, coincident with the number of bankruptcies.<sup>13</sup>

The explanation of this variation of criminality directly with the business cycle is somewhat complex. During a time of industrial activity the people are chiefly at work, leaving little time for other activities. Their economic condition is easier, their wants are not only satisfied but are increasing in number, and the greater proportion of the population is employed. Economic want decreases, and, therefore, the crimes incited by need decrease. Then financial depression comes; many are thrown out of employment; those who work often have wages reduced; the standard of living must be reduced accordingly. In some cases want stares them and their families in the face. Need displaces comfort. The pinch of poverty is keenly felt. The comforts and luxuries to which they had become accustomed must be cut off. Suffering results not only in the absolute sense, but the suffering of a lowered standard of living and of opportunity. The result is that some of them find it harder to readjust themselves to their changed economic circumstances than if they had never known prosperity. Consequently the temptation to commit economic crimes is very greatly increased. Moreover, unemployment, to be discussed later, leads to demoralization and frequently to crime.

Furthermore, such economic crises disturb the relations between the economic classes. In times of stable conditions the relationship of the employed and the employing classes becomes settled, feeling between the classes dies down, and discussion concerning economic inequalities decreases. Any sudden change, however, which seriously disturbs these settled conditions causes the fires of hate to flame up; wages are reduced; men are discharged. Nevertheless, the upper economic classes seem to live in comparative comfort while the worker starves. All he asks for is work; this is denied him. Thus class strife is generated. Strikes sometimes ensue. Bitter conditions arise which frequently lead to violence, destruction of property, and the disturbance of living conditions.

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of Social Forces*, January, 1923. P. 76.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 243-569.

## THE LABOR OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND CRIMINALITY

Bonger has been at great pains to show that juvenile delinquency has increased with child labor. His thesis, in fact, goes further: that juvenile delinquency increases with the industrial development of a country. After a review of the statistics in many European countries to prove his point, he says, "The figures we have given have in general, in my opinion, gone to support the incontestable truth, that there is a relation between child labor and juvenile criminality. Although of smaller importance than the lack of care of the children among the proletariat, it is still one of the factors in the etiology of crime."<sup>14</sup> His presentation leaves entirely out of account such factors as the new laws which make crimes certain acts which were not formerly crimes and the social factors which may or may not be the consequences of economic conditions.

However, numerous studies have shown that a high rate of juvenile delinquency is correlated with certain types of child labor. A study of juvenile delinquency in certain rural sections and villages of New York State showed bad moral results coming from employment of boys in pool-rooms and bowling alleys. Young girls in domestic service frequently find their downfall in that occupation. It is well known that domestic service is an extra-hazardous moral occupation. When young children are thus employed outside of their own homes, the danger is increased.<sup>15</sup>

In the cities where the most careful studies have been made, abundant evidence that juvenile delinquency is produced by certain forms of child labor has been discovered. The most extensive study in the United States of the influence of child labor upon juvenile delinquency was published in 1912 by the Department of Commerce and Labor on the condition of women and child wage-earners in the United States. Representative cases were studied from seven cities,<sup>16</sup> and children from other localities committed to reformatory institutions. These cases dealt with 4,839 children, of whom 4,278 were boys and 561 girls. Fifty-six and five-tenths per cent of the

boys and 62.6 per cent of the girls at the time of their latest offense were working. A comparison of the delinquents who were working and those who were not shows that the workers were disproportionately numerous. This is shown by the following table:<sup>17</sup>

	Proportion of Boys Delinquent		Proportion of Girls Delinquent	
	Working	Non-Working	Working	Non-Working
Indianapolis.....	6.67	3.15	1.41	.31
Baltimore.....	2.87	.66	.51	.02
Boston.....	15.71	1.46	1.36	.08
Newark.....	3.74	.89	.28	.04
Philadelphia.....	1.66	.55	.34	.04
Pittsburgh.....	6.56	1.54	2.47	.14

The summary of this report says:

Roughly speaking, the non-workers are responsible for a little over one-third, the workers for something under two-thirds of the offenses. The ages at which these offenses were committed range from 6 to 16 years. When it is remembered that a majority—and presumably a large majority—of all the children between these ages are not working, this preponderance of offenses among the workers assumes impressive proportions. The excess of working delinquents is not confined to any one class of offenses. With a few exceptions, they lead in all forms of wrongdoing. In the case of forgery the excess of workers is abnormally large. A study of the individual offender explains this by showing that in the majority of cases the youthful forger has been engaged in some work which has familiarized him with the uses of commercial paper and the opportunities for forgery.<sup>18</sup>

The report continues:

The proportion of working delinquents is especially striking among the younger offenders. Of the 938 boys under 12, more than one-fifth (22.4 per cent) were workers, an impressive percentage when it is remembered how small a proportion of all the children under 12 can be at work in the localities studied. Among the boys of 12 and 13 years, 42.4 per cent and among those from 14 to 16 years 80.8 per cent were workers. At this latter age, however, the majority of boys would naturally be at work, so the high percentage here is less significant. Among girls the proportion of working delinquents stood: under 12 years, 9.4 per cent; 12 and 13 years, 36.4 per cent; 14 to 16 years, 77.7 per cent.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>15</sup> Claghorn, *Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York*, Washington, 1918. Pp. 32, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Indianapolis, Baltimore, Boston, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by Mangold: *Problems of Child Welfare*, New York, 1914, p. 305.

<sup>18</sup> Summary of the Report of Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the U. S. Bulletin of U. S. Labor Statistics, Whole No. 175, p. 274.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275.



A study of the table just given shows that the proportion among working boys is from two to ten times as high as among those who are not working. Among girls the proportion is still higher, although on account of the small numbers we are not so certain of the figures.

An attempt was made by the study to segregate the effect of working from other unhappy circumstances of the child's life, such as parental condition, character of home, age, etc. While one of these factors, age, could not be absolutely segregated by reason of the fact that most child workers are at an age which corresponds with the age of greatest criminality for all children, another, the nativity of parents, seems to tell against the worker, although the figures are not wholly conclusive. The study of another factor, the parental conditions, made it clear that the workers were distinctly at a disadvantage, while the study of the fourth factor, namely, home conditions, shows they were more fortunate than the non-workers. On the whole, therefore, says the report, "It appears that working children furnish far more than their proportionate share of the

group of juvenile delinquents; that this excess is found wherever they are studied; that it occurs in every age group; that it is not limited to any one offense; and that it cannot be adequately accounted for by parental condition, race, or character of home and home training. The conclusion seems inevitable that the fact of being at work constitutes an important element in the problem and that working children, because they are working rather than school children, are far more likely to go wrong than those who can enjoy a childhood unburdened by adult responsibility."<sup>20</sup>

It appears from this and other studies made that boys employed in messenger service are especially liable to delinquency. Compelled to deliver messages at all hours in all localities, including the vice districts, they become demoralized. In the states which allow girls in messenger service, the results are even more disastrous.

Some of the street trades are especially hazardous, for example, the newsboy, bootblack, errand and delivery boys. The following table from Mangold indicates the importance of these hazardous occupations:

PERCENTAGE OF WORKING DELINQUENTS ENGAGED IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS.

INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION	Per Cent of Total Delinquent Working Boys	INDUSTRY OR OCCUPATION	Per Cent of Total Delinquent Working Girls
Newsboys.....	21.83	Domestic Services.....	53.95
Errand Boys.....	17.80	Textile, Hosiery, and Knit Goods.....	12.36
Drivers and Helpers.....	7.30	Stores and Markets.....	5.44
Stores and Markets.....	4.23	Clothing Makers.....	4.95
Messengers.....	2.59	Candy.....	4.45
Bootblacks.....	1.77	Laundry.....	1.98
Other Occupations.....	44.48	Other Occupations.....	16.87

Night work in factories has been found injurious to the morals of children. The discipline is more lax at night and, therefore, offers greater opportunities for delinquency. Moreover, night work upon the streets subjects the child to contact with all the baser elements of a city. Overtime which keeps the girls in the factory until night is a circumstance which must not be underestimated in the moral hazard of the working girl.<sup>22</sup>

While the matter was complicated by abnormal social conditions, the very great increase in the number of children employed during the war coincided with a decided increase in juvenile delinquency in various countries in Europe.<sup>23</sup>

In the same study by the Department of Commerce and Labor, attention was given to the question of moral hazards in industry for the working girl. In department stores it was found that

<sup>20</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 309; Clopper, *Child Labor in City Streets*, New York, 1912, Chapter 7; Wertheim, "Chicago Children in Street Trades," *City Club Bulletin*, Chicago, Nov. 19, 1917, p. 273; "Learning by Earning in the Street Trades," *The Survey*, Nov. 24, 1917, pp. 203, 204.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from above mentioned report by Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, New York, 1914, p. 308.

<sup>23</sup> *Juvenile Delinquency in Certain Countries at War*. U. S. Children's Bulletin, Publication No. 39.

the wages paid to beginners and sometimes experienced saleswomen were not adequate for the girls' needs and hence the employers usually required their employees to live at home or gave preference to the applicants who claimed to do so.

Sixty-two per cent of the waitresses in hotels and restaurants were without homes. These women, in addition to working hard, were found to be exposed to unpleasant advances from men.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, the fact that mothers work out of their homes has a bad effect upon juvenile delinquency. Since they are unable to give proper care to their children, it has been shown that their children are more likely to become delinquent than the children of others.

Bonger has given many European statistics to show that child labor has had a very direct relationship to delinquency in Europe. After presenting a table showing the numbers aged ten to sixteen sentenced in the Netherlands from 1899 to 1904 and the number of these who were practicing a trade, and comparing the percentage of those sentenced who practiced a trade with the percentage of children in the general public from ten to sixteen who were at work, he finds that there are two or three times as many persons following a trade among the young delinquents as among the non-delinquents. While the figures which he gives for Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, France, and Italy do not furnish the definite evidence of those from the Netherlands, on this question, they indicate a high degree of probability that increased industrial employment of juveniles has been accompanied by a decided increase in juvenile delinquency. He concluded his survey with the following words:

"The figures we have given have in general, in my opinion, gone to support the incontestable truth, that there is a relation between child labor and juvenile criminality."<sup>25</sup>

#### OTHER DIRECT AND INDIRECT ECONOMIC FACTORS

Some of these factors are the hours of labor, housing conditions, lack of recreation, and ignorance. All of these are dependent more or less upon the economic situation. Most of them, however, will be discussed under social factors.

The influence of long hours of labor is thought to have a bad moral effect upon the worker. While a moderate amount of labor is supposed to have an ennobling influence upon a man, long hours of labor with its resulting fatigue and lack of time for home and proper recreation brutalize the worker. However, no adequate studies have been made to show whether this is true or not.

Some studies have been made by Bongers as to the influence of housing upon conduct. There is no question in the minds of those who have studied the facts that bad housing means among other things crowding, lack of privacy and decency, control over children, and resulting delinquency.

Economic conditions also influence congestion of the houses upon the lots, neighborhood conditions, distance from the factory districts, and many other social conditions.

There can be no question that in the tangled skein of life the economic factors play a considerable part. The economic life itself has an influence upon the development of certain social feelings. When the economic conditions are hard, allowing no margin for the development of the spiritual and the social, and the mere struggle for existence demands every energy of the worker, the ties that bind him to a normal line of conduct in society are weakened, he loses hope, ambition is destroyed; he may feel himself in a position from which he can never escape. If in addition to these considerations he loses his job, the resulting period of unemployment is many times demoralizing.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME

Another possible economic factor of importance in the making of the criminal is unemployment. Theoretically it has been generally agreed that steady work makes for morale. Tarde has said that, "Work is in itself the enemy of crime!"<sup>26</sup> Bongers has argued that alcoholism is one of the potent crimogenic forces, and that unemployment often leads to alcoholism.<sup>27</sup> A recent writer on unemployment in the United States just after the war, in a work giving the results of the President's Unemployment Conference, says that the effect of unemployment on the worker is that if

<sup>24</sup> Summary of the Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, pp. 224, 225.

<sup>25</sup> Bongers, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, Boston, 1916, p. 416.

<sup>26</sup> *Penal Philosophy*, Boston, 1912, p. 383.

<sup>27</sup> *Criminality, and Economic Conditions*, Boston, 1917, p. 362.



he is weak he falls into despair, while, "If his personality be strong, on the other hand, he seeks mental compensation for his wounded pride, and the incessant rebuffs of job-hunting. He finds it in refusing to accept society's code of conduct. He becomes a rebel."<sup>28</sup>

When, however, we seek for statistical studies based either upon large numbers or upon case studies of the direct or indirect relation of unemployment to crime, we find that very little has been done. The hypothesis is that unemployment leads to demoralization. It may be true; it is what we should expect. What are the evidences for the supposition?

Certain facts concerning the occupation of inmates in penal institutions suggest that some of them got into trouble because they had no job. For example, the census figures on male prisoners and juvenile delinquents numbering 445,368 committed to institutions in 1910 show that 15.8 per cent had no occupation or did not report. This percentage is larger than any other except the occupation of "laborers, (not otherwise specified)," which was 33.6 per cent. That juveniles do not play much part in the large percentage of prisoners who have no occupation is indicated by the fact that of the 48,566 females and juveniles committed in 1910 over half reported an occupation prior to commitment. While lack of an occupation seems to be hazardous for an adult male, employment for females and juveniles produces an undue number of delinquents.<sup>29</sup>

Even clearer light is thrown on the problem by a study of more than 500 inmates of the Wisconsin State Prison by the prison physician. While 84.1 per cent of 592 prisoners and 82.5 per cent of 120 recidivists worked before the age of fifteen, 50.5 per cent of the former and 61.7 per cent of the latter were without a trade.<sup>30</sup>

In England the situation is somewhat different. Hobhouse and Brockway report that of the prisoners in England in 1913 only 5.3 per cent had no

occupation, while 60.6 per cent were laborers, a term which indicates all unskilled and semi-skilled laborers.<sup>31</sup>

In 1915 a study of the relation of criminality to unemployment was made in twenty large cities. It was found that burglaries increased during 1914, a time of high unemployment, 30 per cent over the number in 1912, vagrancy 51 per cent, robberies 64 per cent, and mendicancy 105 per cent. Divorce and suicide rates likewise increased. Social workers during that crisis cited many cases of men who had failed to get help or work and who left the office saying that they were going to commit some crime which would get them sentenced to prison where they could get enough to eat. The secretary of a temporary lodging house at Little Rock, Ark., said that "Hundreds offered to work for their board rather than tramp or beg, while a few becoming desperate asked to be locked up and when refused stated frankly their intention to violate the law that they might be imprisoned."<sup>32</sup>

In a study of the prisoners at the Wisconsin State Prison in 1920 at Waupun it was found that 42.5 per cent had never been regularly employed but were drifters.<sup>33</sup>

Speaking of the effect of unemployment upon the morale of the unemployed worker, a group of English investigators in 1922 state that one of the effects of unemployment was discouragement to thrift and foresight. Discouragement and resentment affected them profoundly. In one locality they found that the small tradesman in a British city and many a careful artisan who had to spend his savings, accumulated for the education of his children, came to have a bitterness of spirit which changed the man's outlook on society.<sup>34</sup>

Mr. Whiting Williams in 1920 undertook to learn by first-hand experience the feelings of the common laborer who has no capital other than his job. His findings are worth studying in connection with this problem of demoralization from unemployment. They are too long to receive more than brief mention. He says, "It is impossible to lay too much emphasis on the way in which men come into what we think are strange

<sup>28</sup> Rice, *Business and Unemployment*, New York, 1922, p. 108.

<sup>29</sup> *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the United States*, 1910. Washington, 1918, pp. 150-153.

<sup>30</sup> Sleyster, "The Physical Basis of Crime as Observed by a Prison Physician" in *Physical Bases of Crime*, being the Papers and Discussions Contributed to the XXXVIII Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, Minneapolis, June 14, 1913, Easton, Pa., 1914, p. 125.

<sup>31</sup> *English Prisons Today*, London, 1922, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> *American Labor Legislation Review*, Nov., 1915, p. 491.

<sup>33</sup> *Wisconsin Mental Deficiency Survey*, Madison, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Monthly Labor Review*, December, 1923, p. 147.

ideas and strange feelings, as the result of the lack of a job, the irregularity of a job, the unsteadiness of a job, the insecurity of a job." He points out that we are wrong if we think that the job is simply a matter of bread and butter. The biggest factor in the work, he thinks, is that employment offers them the chief basis for their self-respect and that unemployment destroys this self-respect. He believes that unsteadiness of the job does more than anything else to substantiate the unavoidable and inevitable conflict between the employer and the employee. He cites the result of losing a job by a foreigner. This man said to him, "Eight year I work in plant in New York after coming to this country. Whatever he want I do. I work all the time, and all the time happy. But one day the boss come down mad, and he say, 'You fired'—and for eight year I been Bolshevik."<sup>25</sup>

The weight of the economic factor in producing criminals cannot be determined with our present knowledge. Some of the factors I have given may be suggestive but are not conclusive. However, whatever the weight, we must not underestimate on the one hand or overestimate on the other the economic factors in the making of the criminal. While these factors are not the only ones which play upon the subtle mechanism of a man's soul, and while we must not lose sight

of the natural characteristics of the individual which determine both his social and his economical status to a considerable degree, on the other hand we must not forget that for the great majority of adult men the struggle for a livelihood makes them keenly susceptible to the psychological results of their economic experience. Beyond that we must not forget that for even those men who have accumulated some of this world's goods as a barrier between themselves and want, their ambitions for social prestige may only whet their cupidity. The struggle now in their cases is not for existence merely, but for social position and economic domination. Thus for one class economic need may provide the incentive which leads them into crime; for the other, social prestige and the social advantages which more money will secure for them may provide the temptation that overwhelms their resistance. Still further, we must not forget that many of the social conditions which have an unfavorable effect upon conduct are tied up closely with economic conditions.

Whatever the weight of the economic factors in the production of criminals, since these conditions are subject to men's control, they offer opportunity for change in the direction of serving to develop wholesome citizens rather than to make criminals.

<sup>25</sup> "The Job and Eutopia," *The American Labor Legislation Review*, March, 1921, pp. 13-23.



## Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### NOTES ON SOME OF THE USES FOR THE STATISTICAL METHOD IN SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

THE UTILITARIAN purpose of sociology is to furnish a rational basis for social control. Early sociologists contented themselves with interpretations of social phenomena which were based upon their own more or less shrewd guesses. These guesses were speedily resolved into ordered systems and some of the early research work which was done was not so much for the purpose of finding objective truth as for the sake of proving a theory which had been previously propounded.<sup>1</sup> The early development of sociology showed tendencies similar to those well recognized in the fields of philosophy and theology. The systems which one or another of the pioneers developed were based upon concepts, not facts, and too often these concepts were, or came to be, rationalizations to defend the status quo. Science begins when principles are deduced from facts. The early failure of sociology to remember this is one of the reasons why the discussion as to whether or not it is a science, continues. Undoubtedly we owe a debt to these early contributors to sociology, but, as Giddings has said,<sup>2</sup> "They were sociologists and sociologizers." Their sociology was evolved out of their inner consciousness. It was impressionistic, cubist.

It was a great step forward when men like Albion Small and Vincent substituted for the theoretical cubist picture the observational sketch. In their work they described with minute particulars the environment and make up of "the

rural group," the "village group," etc. That which they described was supposed to be typical of the areas of human association which were described. This sketch was the starting point for the new technique of social investigation which is developing today.

The next step after the sketch was the social survey—and a great step it was. The first of these social surveys were essentially social photographs. Phenomena were recorded accurately, measured and weighed. Examples of such studies are the rural investigations of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions under the direction of Dr. Warren H. Wilson, the Pittsburgh survey, and the earlier studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research which it inherited from the Interchurch World Movement. In the fields of education, social service and religion especially, this method gave us a generation of statistical evangelists whose flaming figures startled the complacency of school and church and resulted in changes in policy and program. This type of study is still much in vogue. Essentially structural in its emphasis it is most useful in local work. It enables the progressive school superintendent to draw the attention of his board to the fact that the ratio between window space and floor space in a given school is below the standard requirement. It gives the social worker material for a campaign for better housing conditions. It helps the minister analyze his church and locate non-members. It visualizes to a denominational executive the need of a given field in terms of men, money and equipment.

Useful as the social photographs are, they have limitations which newer methods must overcome.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer's stages in social evolution were all worked out before he began research. Then he hired readers to find illustrations which fit into his system. Cf. Goldenweiser's "Early Civilization," p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by C. L. Fry in "Diagnosing the Rural Church," p. 30, from *The Literary Review*, January 27, 1923, p. 414.

These limitations are just those of the photograph. It is not possible to see beyond the superficial relationships. Everything is in the picture, but the photograph does not reveal how the picture came to be. It may show stalks of beans a foot higher in one part of the garden than in another, but it does not show that the longer stalks are growing on soil that has been well fertilized for years and the shorter on soil which has had no such nourishment.

Methods of social analysis which go below the surface are slow indeed in developing. Social science recognizes the need that it has for more accurate knowledge, but it has not gone very much beyond enthusiasm for progress. The goal is experimental reality. In the natural sciences advances come as men more and more detach themselves from sentiments and a priori conceptions, and come closer and closer to experimental reality. Thus it was that natural science, not content with the atom, has found new worlds within the atom, and lo, the radio results.

In the social sciences there are great obstacles to this process, obstacles not encountered in other fields. Social phenomena are mutually dependent. They are also at times of accidental causation. Unaccounted for or unforeseen factors have a way of arising and preventing pretty theories from being verified by the facts. Furthermore, the social sciences concern human beings. We cannot study ourselves as objectively as we can a chemical reaction or a sun spot. Because of these and other obstacles the next generation of sociologists will probably determine whether the attempt to achieve social control by scientific means must be given up, or whether it will be worth while to struggle on, continuing research, isolating factors, measuring mutual dependence, achieving at last social diagnosis, regardless of the complexity of the data.

It is becoming recognized, and wisely, that no matter how rigorous the technique of social investigation which is evolved, we can never have "laws" in the sense in which that word is used in the natural sciences. The best we can hope for is to eliminate some of the notions which lie outside of reality and substitute notions which little

by little are more thoroughly experimental, thereby establishing in place of the uniformities of the exact sciences, trends or tendencies of social behavior which will form the basis for our real social science. This is the thing for which John Dewey calls in his last book, "Human Nature and Conduct," but even he, practical philosopher as he is, does not show how to do the thing he wants. He has given us a new approach to social psychology, but there he stops.

Lindeman's last book, "Social Discovery," contains a useful summary of the methods employed thus far in social discovery. Among others he lists the historical, the analogical and the logical methods. All of them, along with the statistical method, he grants will probably always have a part in the analysis of any given social situation. None of them does he find satisfactory to any large degree. To him there must be the maximum possible use of the psychological method, applied to the group and its relationships, with particular reference to the environment of the group, the method by which it is controlled and by which it consents to act.

These notes are not intended as a discussion of the contribution which Lindeman has made, nor as a criticism of it. Like Dewey and others within and without the fold of sociology, he is calling and worthily for greater precision, greater objectivity in social observation and diagnosis.

All that is intended is to join others in proclaiming that at least one procedure worthy of trial in working out new methods of social investigation is to follow so far as possible the methods of the physical sciences. This is the method of the test tube. One of the foundation stones of this method is mathematics. To apply mathematics to the social sciences means the use of statistics. The aim is to increase the number of social phenomena which can be subjected to precise measurement. This means the elimination of cloudy expressions, just as vague and subjective theories of heat and cold were displaced eventually by the precise measurement of the thermometer, to use a figure of Pareto's.

To many such an idea brings no suggestion of progress. There are several reasons for this.



One is that statistics are frequently misused. Two sets of data are compared when there is no true basis for comparability. Pleaders for special interests juggle figures to the confounding of the simple minded. Another reason is that many who decry the statistical method have an innate dislike for mathematics and the precision which figures signify. It would be interesting to discover how many social scientists who make light of the statistical method passed their high school geometry alike with understanding and a good grade!

A third reason is because of the clumsiness of one of the statistical devices early adopted by those interested in evolving workable yardsticks—the score card. The experiences with this device illustrate very clearly how recent and how feeble are our beginnings in the effort to apply some of the experiences of the natural sciences to those of social interest. The score card has been used in studies as diverse as "Waste in Industry," produced by a committee of engineers of which Herbert Hoover was the head, and "The Indiana Survey of Religious Education" by Walter Athearn. Schools, churches and communities have been scored. Attempts have been made to score institutions in one particular phase of their relationship to the community and to other institutions. A few people have even gone so far as to score the attitudes of people. For this the psychologists have offered precedents in their experiments with intelligence quotients, but of late these efforts have been subjected to severe criticism from within as well as without.

Score cards have certain direct and positive uses. That devised by Nat Frame and his associates in the agricultural extension service of West Virginia and applied to communities, has made dozens of villages face up to their deficiencies and has brought about much progress under the whip of competition with neighboring localities. A score card makes perfectly clear what things an institution or a social group lacks which it might be expected to have. It gives a measure of definiteness to the community progress talks of reformers and Chautauqua lecturers.

But it must be admitted that score cards can never have the precision of a steam gauge. The values attached to any item are at best largely subjective even though they do represent "a consensus of opinion on the part of experts," as the letters submitting them for criticism always say by way of flattering one into replying. What means is there of determining whether hand rails on both sides of a school stair are worth  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1 or 2 in comparison with a value of 3 for a certain type of window ventilator? The West Virginia score card gives a possible maximum rating of 200 to agriculture and 100 to each other main division such as school, church. How can anyone know that in the total product of a community—material, intellectual, spiritual—agriculture outranks anything else by two to one. Users of the score card method have some problems still to solve. Certainly each item in a score card must be reduced to the simplest terms and have but one element. Score cards should concern themselves with but one thing at a time. It is perhaps possible to score the physical equipment of a school or church, but to score a church or a school as a totality is a procedure of doubtful validity. Who can compare the value of a resident minister or a modern parsonage with an outdoor bulletin board or a Sunday School orchestra? M. C. Elmer, of the University of Minnesota, suggests a possible way out<sup>3</sup> when he proposes to list the scores of separate phases separately. Thus he would score a community in relation to a given activity, the activity with regard to its program, activity and participants and the activity in terms of its functioning. Thus a final score might read, " $\frac{2}{5}$  of X +  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Y +  $\frac{1}{50}$  of Z." The score card, then, is a useful, interesting device but not sufficiently refined and perfected to carry social science very far toward an approximation of objectivity in the measurement of social phenomena. Its use thus far has prejudiced some against the statistical method.

Another reason is the seeming futility of figures without end. Gathering figures for their own sake is admitted to be more futile than pur-

<sup>3</sup> The Valuation and Scoring of Community Activities, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1924.

suining art for art's sake, but the fault is that of him who figures, not of the science of statistics. It were well to take account of the progress which that science has made during the last decade or two. Without that progress much of the work of economic research which has meant so much to society would have been impossible. It is granted that statistics are useful only as interpreted; but proper interpretation, guided by the standards of statistical science, has much to contribute to sociology and kindred subjects.

One example of this use for statistics is the device known as finding the co-efficient of correlation. It makes possible an extension of precise knowledge in the realm of sociology. Ogburn, Fry and Clyde White have all used this method by which the degree of relationship which one set of factors bears to another is revealed. Thus Ogburn studied the effect of the various fluctuations in the business cycle upon marriage, divorce and suicide rates. Fry discovers that farm values and per capita contributions to village churches have a resemblance, similarity or relationship midway between perfect similarity and purely chance agreement. White has studied the relationship between the growing of cotton and tenancy, illiteracy and other social facts. In order to apply this device the basic facts of each of these series were first needed. Hence the necessity for the census or for field studies. In the use of co-efficients of correlation, statistics become useful as a tool for interpretation not only in structural studies, but in those functional surveys which seem destined to come.

It is argued that statistics should be kept in the background of any social study and the testimony of those interviewed, their opinions and rationalizations should be made the heart of the study. This may be valid as a way for presenting the material, but certainly the statistics should also be published. On any controversial matter the investigator lays himself open to the suspicion of choosing his material to suit his own view if his study fails to give the sources of his facts in full.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This is one weakness in Lindeman's "Social Discovery." From a great mass of facts gathered in an investigation of agricultural coöperatives, he publishes only such illustrations as validate the method of social discovery for which he is arguing. Presumably other and perhaps many illustrations could have been given. Perhaps in a methodological study only one illustration is needed, but had the report concerned more directly the coöperatives studied, a different method of presentation would have been necessary.

Social scientists are fond of finding analogies between their problems and those of biology and psychology. Statistics, however, are basic in biology and are being increasingly used. In psychology Watson measures the volts a rat in different stages of hunger is willing to stand in order to secure a tasty bit of cheese. Whatever we think of it, one school of psychologists is attempting to follow the exact sciences along the pathway toward a greater degree of precision and exactness by increasing its use of the statistical method.

There is no other way in which the use of statistics will contribute to a greater degree of exactness in our sociological knowledge. There is nothing stationary about the sociologist's laboratory. Life is ever on the move. What happens over a period of years? Investigators come and go. The report of personal testimony may be subject to varying interpretations as the years pass by. There is no certainty that two investigators of the same problem working a decade apart will procure comparable results save as their facts are gathered in some such way as to protect them from variability. This means the use of the statistical method, a method which alone will give us the foundation for studies of social change over time. Such studies thus far have been perforce inadequate because of the lack of material. But for the future there is every possibility of such investigations because they can be planned for now.<sup>5</sup>

Instead of dismissing the statistical method as one of limited usefulness, social scientists would do well to study the science of statistics and utilize more than in the past the growing contribution which this branch of pure science has to make to sociology.

<sup>5</sup> The writer has recently had occasion to see the value of such studies even from meager data. In connection with its study of the American agricultural village now in progress, the Institute of Social and Religious Research has procured the census facts for one community from 1860 to date. From these can be read much of the story of the village. The figures on those gainfully employed coupled with those on the age and sex distribution of the population show, among other things:

1. The evolution of the village from a working community to a farmers' service station and old people's home.
2. The effect of the coming of the railroad and results of the fluctuations of the business cycle on what industries the community had.

These figures in turn throw much light on figures upon church membership and finance, school attendance, etc.



## THE INTER-RELATIONS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

DANIEL H. KULP, II

IN ANY attempt to define a science it is most helpful to delimit the area of investigation by specifying the unit of investigation.

In a study of the trends and development of sociology and psychology, it is interesting to note that psychology has tended recently to branch out and combine with sociology, forming the subject that is commonly called social psychology. One naturally asks then—what is the content of knowledge for psychology? Psychologists seem to place their emphasis upon a study of individual reactions. From the point of view of sociology there is no individual except in a physical sense. If this is correct, it would seem that the unit of investigation for psychology is primarily the neurone. Most psychology texts place the emphasis upon the structure and function of the neurone but it should be noted that the moment the psychologist is concerned with the function or activity of the neurone he is involved in a consideration of interaction.

Peoples' behavior is always the external or objective phase of responses to stimuli which, with the exception of physical elements in the environment, are derived from other people directly or indirectly. It is true that the later psychologies, as well as a few of the earlier ones, have stressed human behavior, mutual influencing, suggestion, learning, etc., but in so doing are they not treating subjects which really belong to social psychology? Is it possible to say strictly that psychology is a special science of physiology and thus secondary to biology because of its emphasis upon the individual and his reactions to his environment and because the neurone is the element under investigation?

Psychology seems, as indicated, to be branching into social psychology on the one hand and physiology on the other. Sociology, in its development has branched to the right, joining with psychology and forming social psychology as we have already noted, whose area of investigation may be taken to be social processes, with the unit of investigation as an instance of interaction. And yet any instance of interaction may be further broken up into attitudes and wishes. To take an analogy from physics, the wish corresponds to the elec-

tron; the attitude, to the molecule; and an instance of interaction, to the atom. Sociology, furthermore, may be considered to be branching to the left into a scientific ethics. This point of view has been strongly and efficiently argued by Hayes.

The question remains—is there anything which can be called a distinctive area of sociology? Certainly, the group in its structural aspects is not treated by any other science, and we may, therefore, consider that the group is the distinctive field for sociological investigation. The group is always a product of the social process and thus it may be taken that social psychology studies the process, while sociology studies the product, out of which there arises the group in its more objective and concrete aspects and the values of the group on its spiritual side. Thus the values become the units of investigation for a scientific ethics.

We may thus summarize the division of these sciences: psychology has for its area of investigation the nervous system and its operations in reaction to physical environment, with the unit of investigation the neurone. Social psychology has for its area of study the social process, mutual influencing and reconditioning of human behavior with its unit of investigation (not so clear-cut) an instance of interaction or an attitude or a wish, depending upon the purposes of analysis. Sociology has for its area of investigation the product of the social process, which is the group. It stresses the structural and organizational and solidary phases of human relationships. Its unit of investigation is the group. Ethics has, for its area of study, the variety of human relationships and the determination of trends and tendencies in human society which are controlled or grow out of these relationships. Its unit of investigation is the value, whether positive or negative.

Such delimitation of the areas of investigation of these several sciences is used to show that sociology is not the mother science of all social sciences but is on a par with economics, when it considers, for example, a group whose function is primarily economic or political or educational; and, in turn, by a study of the structural or relationship aspects of these groups contributes to the development of these several sciences.

## LABORATORY WORK IN RURAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BRUCE L. MELVIN

**C**OLLEGE COURSES which deal with the problems of rural life, whether called Rural Sociology or Rural Social Problems can be taught by the laboratory method with the same facility and profitableness as the physical sciences. Such subjects are not being taught by this method to any great extent because it is generally believed to be impossible, and it is easier to observe the customary practices of handling classes by lectures and discussions. The laboratory method of teaching involves the collection and interpretation of facts by the student, and it is this that can be done to a very great advantage in a course on Rural Social Problems, from the teaching of which I make most of the inferences of this article.

The laboratory work in a subject like Rural Social Problems partakes of two aspects: field work wherein actual surveys may be made either of the student's home community or some other place, and directed studies of statistical and other data in a room adapted for that purpose. Making use of the home community is not a new procedure, as Professor Sanderson of the New York State College of Agriculture has been doing it for six years. An example of the instruction that I am giving this year, which I have worked out by using samples from Professor Sanderson's notes, is as follows:

1. Draw map of your community and on map locate:
  - a. Villages
  - b. Roads
  - c. Railroads
  - d. Churches
  - e. Schools (indicate kind)
  - f. Farm homes
2. On same map or another show boundaries for the different agencies:
  - a. Stores (different kinds)
  - b. Schools
  - c. Lodges
  - d. Churches (designate membership and non-membership for farm homes)
3. Write history of community. Show in this any particular influences.

4. Explain the work of the following if found in your community:

- a. Farm Bureau
- b. Home Bureau
- c. Grange
- d. Coöperatives
- e. Boys' and Girls' Clubs

5. Outline a plan for the development of your community including in the scheme the educational, religious, economic, social and recreational elements. Assume you are a citizen of the community such as a farmer, teacher, preacher or some other leader and present your plan accordingly.

This may not be laboratory method in a narrow sense of the word, but it calls for the collection and interpretation of data about which the student knows something but has never thought of as having any problems. It is original work, demands creative thinking, and proves a valuable stimulus in enabling the student to appreciate the problems of his home community. In some cases the wrestling with such data has caused the students to determine to return to their homes to make the community a better place in which to live.

Field work that is not too difficult may be adapted to undergraduates instead of the above or in conjunction with it. For helping the students in appreciating what a community is and how problems have arisen in communities through the process of social evolution a simple questionnaire may be prepared and used in a survey of farm homes. A few simple questions like the following may be asked, using a one page questionnaire for each family. Thus:

1. Address.
2. Where buy clothing?.....Hard-ware?..... Groceries?.....
3. Where sell grain?.....Stock?..... Milk?..... Poultry and eggs?.....
4. Where go to church?..... School?..... "Movies"?..... Other forms of recreation?.....
5. What papers and magazines do you take?.....



6. Does father in family belong to Farm Bureau?  
 ..... Where?.....  
 Mother to Home Bureau?..... Where?  
 .....

The information asked for here may be gathered in some community, and then placed on a map that will show all the various connections for the different families. Indeed the class room discussion may be based upon data after it has been interpreted by the students, and connection made with their experiences in filling out the questions.

A second type of laboratory work may be based on statistics. It involves the setting aside of a definite time and place for the handling of material the same as is done in other sciences. A specific outline of instructions must be worked out in great detail and given to the students. In dealing with statistical material, as well as any other, this is especially important due to the fact that students take courses for grades rather than to learn.

The study of population movements, which is one of the first problems involved in courses like Rural Sociology and Rural Social Problems lends itself very easily to statistical handling. Accordingly the following is a sample of the instructions which may be given:

- I. Take home county. Show graphically:
  - A. Population change from 1855-1920.
    1. Total population.
    2. City population—Places over 10,000.
    3. Town population—Places 2,500 to 10,000.
    4. Village population—Incorporated places below 2,500.
    5. Unincorporated villages.
    6. Non-farming—non-village rural population.
    7. Farm population.
  - B. For same period (1855-1920) show:
    1. Number of farms.
    2. Acreage in farms.
    3. Acreage in improved land.
  - C. Explain fluctuations and relationships for population and number of farms and acreage in farms.

The material for this analysis may be obtained through various methods from the different volumes of the federal census. Indeed, in some

cases it is necessary to aid the student in making estimates but that is the function of the teacher. An instance of this occurs in determining the farm population for counties, since 1920 was the first time the farm population has ever been reported even by states. However, the average size of the rural family is given by states, and the number of farms for each county is afforded. By multiplying the number of farms by the average size family a fairly close approximation to the farm population is obtained. This means must be varied for other census years, but enough data are available to furnish valuable statistics for comparisons. In the case of the unincorporated villages, which the census volumes omit, an estimate of the population that is fairly accurate can be secured by a postal card to the postmaster in most instances.

Some states in which the census is taken between the federal census years possess extra and serviceable information through their own reports. Thus the 1915 volume of the state census of Iowa classifies the population in as great detail as the federal. Likewise, the earlier volumes of the New York state census have much information that is extremely serviceable for comparative purposes. The state and other factors of location must determine the method.

Another similar exercise, which is a corollary of the above is directed as follows:

- II. Draw map of your county and show location of places of various size, incorporated and unincorporated, by different signs. Also, make use of dots and show density of farm population.

The purpose of this last is to aid the student in appreciating the relationship of the places of varying size to the farm population. An additional exercise may be given that will aid materially in accomplishing the same purpose. Thus:

Find the number of service agencies, like grocery and hardware stores, in the different sized places for the county and show their relation to the total population, and to the farm population. This information may be secured from telephone directories and newspapers.

It would be well if we who are interested in bettering rural life might do scientific work along this line until we know the point of relationship between these agencies and population at which the greatest efficiency is secured.

These population studies hold various and almost unlimited possibilities. Dr. Galpin made some very valuable suggestions at the 1923 meeting of the American Sociological Society which may be found in the proceedings of that meeting. A whole course might be devoted to population analyses where there is a sufficient number of advanced students, but for a beginning course only enough need be handled to assist the student to realize that population in its numerous aspects is a basic factor in the other rural problems.

Various exercises may be given that will readily coördinate with the discussions. Besides those already considered it is profitable to make a few analyses of newspapers, especially those that farmers read. One laboratory period may be used in determining the percentage of space devoted to advertisements, community news, farm news, editorials, etc., as found in a small number of county papers. Most students may secure such papers for themselves, or, if that is not practical, there is an abundance of such source material around most libraries.

The basis for a discussion on health may be laid by having the students find the sickness and death rates for their home counties. In the states which have any adequate system of registration it is very easy to accomplish this task by securing annual reports from the state authorities. Few students believe that health conditions are bad in the open country, but if they discover the rate themselves and make comparisons no argument is needed.

Almost every rural social problem may be approached by the laboratory method of study. Education, economic conditions, recreation, religion and other topics may be analyzed by the student as efficiently as those topics suggested above and as adequately for the learner as is done in the old established sciences.

One difficulty in establishing the laboratory method in the subjects like Rural Social Problems or Rural Sociology is that we teachers in those fields do not know what they are trying to accomplish. The teaching is done according to tradition, habits and text books, and because it is considered a valuable asset to the curricula of our colleges to have these subjects offered. A

casual survey of the so-called text books in Rural Sociology will substantiate this assertion. There are various books on the market that carry "Rural Sociology" in their titles but a little examination of them shows that their contents deal primarily with rural social problems. The rural sociology that is found in them is incidental and not fundamental. Thus, these books present the problems of the rural church, rural school, rural recreation, et cetera, and not elements of social organization, social conflict, processes, forces and controls as found in rural life. All this may seem to have little to do with laboratory work but it serves to show the first difficulty, namely, in teaching the courses no definite aim is established.

A second difficulty is the failure to work out the instructions for the class in enough detail. Care must be exercised to maintain a balance between too much detail and too little. On the one hand the instruction must be specific, and on the other not so elaborate that the student's originality will be crushed in trying to conform.

Closely allied with this is a third perplexity, that is this field of study has no technique or scientific terminology. Writers in sociology have been talking for many years about the need for and necessity of developing a terminology, but in the meantime have done little about it. The expectation has been that the desired nomenclatures and formulae would come out of abstract thinking. Just the reverse is true; scientific generalizations and nomenclatures must come from the concrete study of society. Indeed, much may be gained by the teachers if this method of instruction is adopted.

Sociology in its various aspects holds the same possibilities for being taught by the laboratory method as do rural social problems. We cannot put human beings in test tubes and experiment on them, but we can observe their actions and relationships in actual life. Much of our present sociological literature is not sociology but social philosophy, which partially accounts for its being taught in some schools by philosophers. It is now old enough to be taken out of the philosophical stage and placed in the realm of the scientific, and nothing will contribute more toward that end than the adoption of the laboratory method of teaching.



## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

That the future of humanity lies in its own hands is one of the most inspiring of modern ideas. The conception has arisen among men of the most diverse sorts, but psychologists have an especial assurance of its truth in the proved practicability of changing the habits of the race. We have already created a new material world to live in; we shall create a world of rational social relationships as soon as we agree to work in common, a state of mind for which natural science has been a necessary preparation. So far as human nature is concerned, there is nothing to prevent educating ourselves deliberately and in a scientific manner to an attitude that makes the welfare of mankind its goal. Herman Hilmer of the University of California develops this thesis, with its broader implications, in "The Outlook for Civilization" from the *Pedagogical Seminary* for September. His presentation is unusually simple and lucid in tone.

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A half-pint bottle containing a family of fruit-flies and some banana pudding furnishes an ideal microcosm for observing "The Biology of Population Growth," writes Raymond Pearl in scholarly and entertaining fashion in the November *American Mercury*. Under normal conditions (which include war, pestilence, migration, and the progress of science to date) human beings tend, like the flies, to increase at a varying rate expressible by a graph having the form of a stretched-out S, as the author illustrates in the case of Sweden, the United States, France, and Germany. Growth occurs in cycles, and its amount is proportional to two things—the absolute size attained at the beginning of the cycle considered, and the resources for the support of increased numbers which remain unused. The potentialities of this unknown second factor, and the adaptive faculty of man, should obviate fear of a Malthusian catastrophe.

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A somewhat like conclusion is reached by George R. Davies of the University of North Dakota in "Population and Progress" from the December *Scientific Monthly*. Reviewing the relations of population, social conditions, and economic expansion among the white races in the

modern world, he finds that we have come now to a period of diminishing returns, though to a far less degree than the Oriental peoples, from whom there is no danger of domination. In a general way the laws of Malthus are working, but the imponderables of human nature, birth control, and progress in producing food are likely to make prediction based on them futile. At any rate, Europe will suffer far more severely than America from the future pressure of population.

\* \* \*

The qualified optimism of the two foregoing writers is not shared by H. Mitchell, whose "Restatement of the Malthusian Doctrine" in the *Contemporary Review* for November argues, by figures taken largely from this country and Canada, that population and food supply are actually increasing in something like the ratio postulated by Malthus. In spite of the falling birthrate and scientific agriculture of recent decades, he sees our predestined end in the static condition of the Chinese. After a period of vast political and industrial disorder, as nations and classes feel the grip of scarcity and rising prices, war will be abolished because only in peace can the world get enough to eat, and society will sink into its last phase, in which civilization languishes and every energy is bent toward the keeping of body and soul together.

\* \* \*

American democracy is in these latter years confronted with a new master—Consumptionism. The first condition of our comfortable civilization has become the producing of *things*; its chief problem is to produce customers who by using more and more things will keep the ball of prosperity rolling. Hence it comes that liquor, which subtracted from the total consumptive power of the nation, has been outlawed, the newspapers are giving up their former ability to lead citizens for the more profitable ability to lead buyers, and in politics ideas are "sold" to the people instead of being, as heretofore, submitted for their judgment. Thus the whole fabric of life is being altered because "Things Are in the Saddle," as Samuel Strauss ingeniously and rather brilliantly maintains in the November *Atlantic*.

But may it be that the tide has begun to turn against Consumptionism? Douglas H. Stewart, in an equally thoughtful paper from the *Edinburgh Review* for October, sees the beginnings of "An Industrial Counter-revolution," through which standardization and quantity production are giving way in many fields to a revival of expert craftsmanship on a moderate scale, as new tastes and economic convictions lead us to purchase fewer and better things. The Industrial Revolution ran its course apart from the interference of government; and this movement which is to check the excesses of industrialism will likewise be social rather than political, narrowing the scope of capitalism and leading mankind out into a simpler and happier life of congenial work for all.

\* \* \*

The Greeks had glimpses of a good many things that our scientists are just now beginning to find out. The myth of Prometheus bringing eternal fire from heaven is perhaps a poetic foreshadowing of the immortal germ-cell that Mendel and Weismann discovered to be carrying on certain basic characteristics through an infinite succession of mortal bodies. Such in the striking parallel that French Strother suggests in the December *World's Work*; in simple and popular style he discourses on the modern mysteries of genes, chromosomes, and their part in the mechanism of heredity, and under the title of "Crime and Eugenics" shows how our new-found ability to control the inheritance of human traits opens the way to the conscious building of a crimeless and poverty-free civilization.

\* \* \*

How far should we educate people to be alike, and how far dare we educate them to be different? This is the age of uniformity and coöperation, but do not variabilities of nature and of function in life, and the enormous body of knowledge now available, seem to argue for differentiation as a desirable goal? We are committed to a democratic culture—such as never before has existed—that is yet somehow to avoid bringing everything to the level of the prairies and the swamps. David Snedden calls the problem "Edu-

cation for a World of Team-players and Team-workers" in *School and Society* for November 1; he does not attempt to answer his questions, but submits a number of concrete debatable issues, arising in the school, whose settlement involves the decision for or against a standardized education.

\* \* \*

The confused aims and standards of higher education in this country are pictured graphically by Richard Burton of the University of Minnesota in the *American Mercury* for December. "Why Go to College?" he asks, and sketches the several types who ought not to be there—the *jeunesse dorée*, the grind, the youth of humble origin who is sent to make good his parents' deficiencies, and the moron who occasionally acquires a sheepskin despite all the rules of the game. The basic faults that produce these unhappy results are three: the fevered chase of the "practical," by which we make frenzied and impossible attempts to be cultured and useful in the same breath; the abuse of the democratic ideal, by which we assume that all are equal in brains if only they are given a chance; and the failure to see that any two subjects (i.e., horse-shoeing and philosophy) are not of the same inherent value. Dare we take the aristocratic for our goal in education?

\* \* \*

The relation between race and social development is a thorny problem that A. A. Goldenweiser grappled with in the November JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES. The older supposition, that the races of man differ significantly in potential ability and that only one has achieved civilization, is retreating before the view that there have been several actual cultures of genuine and unique worth, developed by peoples that did not vary greatly from one another in psychological endowment. Alain Leroy Locke, writing on "The Concept of Race as Applied to Social Culture" in the *Howard Review* for June, holds that though the two have at all times a definite relationship they are nevertheless not organically or causally connected, and one can in no sense be said to determine the other. He marshals an imposing array of recent writers in support of his contention.



Free speech tends to promote social as well as individual interests, as liberal protagonists of the doctrine have been urging of late in reaction to the rigorous enforcement of laws for national security during the war. The philosophy behind their view, and the various interpretations of the First Amendment that have been current since the Civil War, are analysed in a competent study of "Freedom of Speech" by Richard H. Eliel in the *American Political Science Review* for November. This guaranty has been and will be of constant concern to a society that is busy working out its own destiny.

\* \* \*

Civilization is a continuous entity from the stone to the steel age, and it usually expands and readjusts itself almost imperceptibly. Yet there are certain periods when accumulated forces—such as early Christianity, the Reformation, the Political and Industrial Revolutions—leap forward to make possible sudden great changes—"Mutations of Progress" as Frank Wilson Blackmar calls them in the November-December *Journal of Applied Sociology*. These cataclysms are not themselves social progress, but they give opportunity for progress: the differentiation and confusion of thought that they entail seem a necessary process in advance, for only out of mental fermentation can come a general social standard and a common purpose for the future.

\* \* \*

"Democracy and its Opposite" are defined in social as distinct from political or philosophical terms by David Snedden in the same issue. Pure democracy could exist only among a hypothetical group of persons who were precisely equal in age, sex, strength, and mentality; all society that we know is based on a natural "oligarchism" of inevitable differences. Man can, if he wishes, accentuate these inequalities for the sake of social efficiency, or he can to some extent offset them, when it seems wise, to allow more personal freedom. Every group is a theatre of these two conflicting forces, and the result is a swaying balance of as much democracy as society will bear and as much domination as the individual will permit.

Hazing has gone out of fashion, and in its place have come "Initiatory Courses for College Freshmen," which aim to make the entering men aware, somewhat more rationally, of the moral, social, and economic scheme of which they are members. The earliest of these was instituted at Amherst in 1915; the course in Contemporary Civilization at Columbia serves the same purpose through a historical approach; while the recent Orientation Course in the University of Minnesota covers broadly the natural world, the social world, and man's appreciation of the two in literature, art, and thought. Their value lies, says John M. Gaus in the November-December *American Review*, in that synthesizing of knowledge of which we are today so in need, and in interesting the students enough to make them plan their college studies and life-work intelligently.

\* \* \*

Answers to a questionnaire sent recently to teachers of educational sociology throughout the country on "The Aims, Contents, and Methods of a General Course" in that subject are assembled by Clyde B. Moore of the University of Pittsburgh in *Education* for November. The question asked for a definition of the aim or objective of the course, an enumeration of the 20 most desirable topics for discussion (to be selected from a list of 68 submitted), and the method and procedure of a typical successful lesson. Professor Moore believes that a study of the varied replies he received will serve to clarify the present rather vague status of the subject.

A "Problem-Solving Method in Teaching the Social Sciences" is outlined by R. Ray Scott of West Virginia Wesleyan in the *Peabody Journal of Education* for November. He first sets forth five principles involved in reflective thinking—continuity of experience, adjustment to environment, multiple hypothesis, mental manipulation, and verification by experiment—and embodies them in a plan of classroom procedure in the teaching of history. He holds that for information alone drill or memoritor work is admissible, but only by solving problems can the student learn to understand facts and think in terms of historical knowledge.

Out of Norway has come an ingenious plan for doing away with the mass of certificates, receipts, passes, and other papers now required to establish the position of a citizen at home or abroad by replacing them with a single Identity Book that shall contain all necessary information about him and his activities. This book, it is claimed by its inventors, J. A. Mjoen and Jon Bö, in the *Eugenics Review* for October, will serve to control migration, to accuse criminals and protect the honest against slander or arrest, to obviate the keeping of most personal records by the state and private institutions, and after the death of the holder, on its return to a central registration office, to guide scientists in making a really adequate study of society. The idea will undoubtedly find greater favor in Europe than in this country.

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"The Fifth Estate"—not the advertisers, according to Arthur D. Little in the December *Atlantic*, but those few thousand persons in the world who have the simplicity to wonder, the ability to question, the power to generalize, the capacity to apply. Scientists, perhaps they should be called, in the best and broadest sense of the word, and Benjamin Franklin is their prototype. They are the salt of the earth, who have created the marvels of our modern world, emancipated labor, and revealed "the true technology of the will of God." Better fitted to govern than the politicians or the workers, they can best supply the new appreciation of the knowledge now at hand that alone will lift democracy out of the

waste, hatreds, and cruelty that the misuse of its resources has brought upon it.

Comparing medicine and criminology as to their principles of procedure and clarity of purpose, Bernard Glueck in the leading article of *Mental Hygiene* for October finds the chief hope of the latter science to lie in psychiatry, and the most valuable feature of psychiatry to be the process of probation. The treatment of mental diseases takes into account man's inherited dispositions, his acquired learning, the common circumstances and critical epochs of life, failures in adjustment, and the technique of readjustment. Probation, first tried out in juvenile delinquency, leads to a genuine and sympathetic understanding of the offender, which is half the battle in attacking the problem he has created.

#### NORTH CAROLINA INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

The University of North Carolina will have available next year ten research assistantships paying \$1500 each for research in the social sciences in problems dealing primarily with Southern situations. The requirements of these assistantships include at least an M.A. degree or one year or more of creditable research work, together with the submission of some written evidence of ability and experience. The assistantships are not open to those who simply wish to spend a year or two of pleasant university work. In addition to the stipend, the Institute provides assistants with such field expenses and publication funds as may be necessary for turning out first-class work.



## Inter-State Reports from the Fields of Public Welfare and Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### WHAT DOES THE SOCIAL WORKER DO?

ELIZABETH V. TRUMP

ONE OF the most frequent questions asked the psychiatric social worker is, "But what do you do?" "Visit the home? Talk?" This question occurs chiefly outside her place of employment, but may occur within if the organization is one of several departments, coming from newcomers as yet unfamiliar with social service. There are probably two questions embodied here—e.g. (1) How do you act? and (2) What does it all mean anyway? The answer to the first question is briefly, "Just the way you, the inquirer, would act if confronted with the same situation." The difficulty here is that the questioner conjures up a scene without reference to the ordinary conditions under which the interview—the chief mechanism of such work—takes place. He should remember, first of all, that there is an ordinary setting—a house or apartment in the city or outside it; there is, furthermore, a room in which the interview takes place; there is at least one person to talk with; and, lastly, there is a subject of conversation at hand. Probably this last represents the greatest obstacle to the layman. He does not fully grasp the fact that there is a reason for the interview which is older to the family than to the particular social worker, and of much greater personal importance. This is to say that probably there is an acute situation in which help has been sought by a member of the family for one purpose or another. In the cases which come to the attention of child-helping agencies, such as the Institute for Juvenile Research, probably the mother has herself gone about asking where to go with her child in order that she may secure advice and aid. Without such recognition of the problem, the social worker would often be as unenlightened about the particular problem as though it had not existed.

In going through the current files in the social service of the Institute for Juvenile Research—from which organization all the illustrations for this paper are drawn—we find that, of fifty cases studied, twenty-four—or fifty per cent—came to us on the initiative of the parent. By "initiative of the parent" we mean that the parent himself went out of the home and appealed for information as to where to go. In twelve instances he went to the medical profession, either privately or in hospital or dispensary; in seven instances he went to the juvenile court; in six instances to miscellaneous sources, represented by social settlement, church, or father's employer. Twelve cases—or twenty-four per cent—came from schools (public and correctional) and from interested private individuals. Eight cases—or sixteen per cent—came from agencies financially responsible for the family; five cases—or ten per cent—from agencies interested from other points of view. (See Chart I). In those cases which have come to the clinic by the wish and effort of the parent, the social worker to whom they are later referred, need anticipate no difficulty in going into the home for the purpose of treating the child. She is almost as certainly assured of a friendly reception in the thirteen cases referred by social agencies actively interested in the families. The parent in these instances may have been just as interested in securing help as those in the case of the other twenty-four children, but he would, under similar circumstances, appeal for direction to the agency already interested. Whether or not this is true, we are here dealing with families who are accustomed to social agencies. Active on a single case, there may be the county department for widowed mothers, the local family welfare agency—both supplying

CHART I. ORIGINAL SOURCES OF 50 SOCIAL SERVICE CASES.

RELATIVES 50%	24% STEERED BY HOSPITAL, DISPENSARY, PHYSICIAN			14% STEERED BY JUVENILE COURT		12% SETTLEMENT, CHURCH	
SCHOOLS 24%	10% PUBLIC SCHOOLS		8% CORRECTIONAL	6% INDIVIDUALS			
AGENCIES FINANCIALLY RESPONSIBLE 16%	10% FAMILY		6% CHILD PLACING				
OTHER AGENCIES 10%	4% FAMILY	4% NURSING	2% COURT				

workers—while these in turn call on various other agencies such as the city tuberculosis sanitarium, the county hospital and infirmary, and medical dispensaries. Whatever may be our opinion of a scheme of things in which the very multitude of social service registrations on a given case promises unquestioned admission to the household, it remains a fact that to this type of family the activity of social workers is an old story, demanding no explanation.

In the cases referred by schools—individuals external to the family are included in this classification—we may expect more resistance to the idea of treatment, although in few cases, actual refusal. In these cases the mother is prone to minimize the delinquencies of the child, if not disclaim them entirely, blaming the teacher for "picking on him." It may be said that in the rare instances where the social worker is not received by the family, it is due to the family's conception of the problem. This is very well illustrated in the course of certain cases carried over a considerable period of time where the mother's friendliness varies with the special set of circumstances. So we have a foreign born mother with a child persistently truant from home and school, who, at the point of treatment where parental school commitment is advised, accepts the recommendation readily, acknowledging her inability to control the situation. When four months of the term in the correctional school are over, the

mother excitedly demands that the child be released, blames the social worker for the commitment, and when the child herself is again placed in the home, refuses to follow the recreational plans outlined for her. One month later the mother again accepts suggestions readily. This is coincident with a recurrence of the child's truancy. The degree of warmth of the reception of the social worker may thus be safely used as an index to the acuteness of the situation in the household.

The second question: "What does it all mean now that you have gained access to the household?" is a comment on how social work appeals to the layman as a series of desultory visits characterized by a more or less maundering conversation. The important fact to be pointed out here is that the psychiatric social worker is called upon to do a definite piece of work, often involving a time limit on which date the case is to be reviewed for further recommendations. But whether there is a time limit or not, there is in every case an objective—not the general one of "adjustment to the community" which is like wishing that everybody in the world may be happy—but a smaller objective which will in all probability give way to another as the treatment progresses till in retrospect the case becomes a series of objectives, one giving place to another. The case comes to the social worker, not as it came to the clinic with a simple description of the



behavior, but also with the psychiatrist's statement of what he believes to be the cause of the difficulty, together with recommendations as to the line of treatment to be instituted for the specific behavior. Other problems may arise of general health, employment, etc., either in the child himself or in members of his family, but the behavior remains the central consideration and when this ceases to be prominent, the case is transferred to an agency equipped to handle the remaining problem, or, if no social problem remains, it waits in the closed files for occasional follow-up visits. It is the presence of this definite piece of work to be done that does not allow for maundering, if the case worker is at all intelligently "on to her job."

The first thing to do in handling any case is to secure the greatest possible knowledge about it before the actual beginning of treatment. The initial visit to the clinic has given us a history covering in a routine way family background, social history, developmental history, and history of the peculiar difficulty. But, for treatment, this is not sufficient since it serves to indicate problems rather than to orient the worker fully in them. Social treatment based on this material would be widely different from that based on a social investigation. I have in mind the case of a fifteen-year-old boy brought to the clinic by his mother, who reported that although he had been promoted to sixth grade twice, he was both times demoted. Both the boy and his mother felt that this was unfair and that the school was "picking on" him. The mother denied any delinquency. It was the opinion of the staff that here was a non-delinquent boy with some persecutory ideas about school, presumably with a foundation. A social investigation revealed the fact that this boy and his brother had a history of stealing, truancy, and poor school progress in the four successive schools of their attendance. Although some of the principals and teachers had not had any contact with the family in seven or eight years, all remembered them as the chief school problem of the time. All reported the family to be of deteriorating stock, shifting neighborhoods constantly, shiftless and unreliable in their social dealings. As to the complaint of unfair treatment in the

present school, it was found that the boy had been given exceptional opportunities to prepare for sixth grade work, the principal having placed him in a special nine weeks' course for boys of limited academic ability who needed to complete this grade in order to make them eligible for working certificates. Our patient failed to take advantage of this opportunity, was constantly playing truant, and failing to show interest in any way. It is plain that the social investigation has here changed the complexion of the case, and that the recommendations for treatment are not identical with those which would be drawn up on the basis of the examination in the clinic alone.

This mode of orientation, e. g., of securing a succession of reports from various sources covering a considerable period of time, is one of the most important ones in case work. It is in constant use both in investigation of past history, and in checking up on changing status in the present. One report alone has no great significance and must depend for its value on the reliability of the source and the type of interest which it has in the case. A series of reports fixes the initial date of the problem, indicating its existence at any one point in time and indicating its duration. A striking instance of cumulative evidence is offered in the cases of the problem wards of child-placing agencies where a succession of boarding homes is not uncommon. In cases of extreme behavior the number of homes is increased automatically and there is a corresponding increase in opportunities for social observations from successive individuals. A boy of seven years comes to the clinic with the complaint of temper tantrums, stealing and lying, setting fires, sleep disturbances. The on-set is not indicated. A social investigation for the purpose of determining the presence of an innate abnormality in this boy or the possibility of the behavior being environmental makes use of all these successive placements. (Chart II). Referring to the chart we find that setting fires has been reported in five homes beginning at the age of three. Stealing is not reported until the age of six; lying is reported in four homes, the first at four years. Tantrums and truancy are reported in three homes beginning with the earliest one. Sleep

CHART II. BEHAVIOR MANIFESTATIONS IN EIGHT SUCCESSIVE BOARDING HOMES

HOMES	SETTING FIRES	STEALING	LYING	SEX PRACTICES	TRAUNCY	CRUELTY	TEMPER TANTRUMS	SLEEP DISTURBANCES	FOSTER MOTHER'S IMPRESSION
I 2-3 Years	Bed	O	O	O	Wandered off day and night	Bit and spit at children	Fits of temper like a murderer	O	"Wild one. No child like him!"
II 4 Years	O	O	To avoid punishment	O	O	O	O	O	"Dark one—the way he sat and thought"
III 4 Years	O	O		O	O	O	O	O	O
IV 5 Years	O	O		O	O	O	O	Sleep walking and talking	O
V 5 Years	Gas	O		O	O	O	When threatened with punishment	Sat naked on floor crying and staring	O
VI 5 Years	Bed	O		Masturbation	Wandered for hours in alleys	O	O	O	"Not as lively as child of 5 years!"
VII 5 Years	Curtains	O		O	O	O	O	O	"Rolls Eyes. Seems old"
VIII 6-7 Years	Fence	Pencils Crayons Money Tape-line		Masturbation Exhibitionism	Wandered for hours in alleys, 3 over-night	Tortured and killed cat	Daily for 16 months	Sleep-walking and talking	"Not as babyish as child of 7 yrs."

disturbances are reported in three homes. Five boarding mothers describe the child as "queer," or as a "wild one."

On the basis of social investigation treatment is begun. This may consist, primarily, as in the case just mentioned, of manipulating the environment. Here is a child unquestionably abnormal to begin with, but whose innate abnormality the psychiatrist considers to have been heightened by the conditions of his life. These conditions have been chiefly a kaleidoscopic change of homes with its accompanying change of personnel of family, of standards and requirements, and of status for the child. The important thing socially is to provide a relatively stable environment, or if change is necessary, the greatest possible continuity. The home selected for him should be one in which he is included in the family group where there is

a type of interest and discipline which is friendly but firm, and where the prevalent attitude is one of emphasizing his good behavior rather than his bad conduct.

At the time of investigation this boy was found in the home of an unmarried woman of middle age who had had practically no experience in caring for children up to the time she began to board out patient. She had few social contacts outside the casual ones in a neighborhood of bungalow dwellers; she did not attend theatres or social functions following the death of her sister. For a part of the time she also boarded the five-year-old son of a friend. In the care of these children she was found to be sentimental, keeping the patient "out of pity" and censuring herself because she did not feel affection for him. Her discipline could be easily wrecked by the five-



year-old's demonstrativeness with her. She preached at our patient about his behavior, during which he stood without expression. His attitude towards her was evidenced by his chant on being invited to a movie, "Goody, goody, goody! I'm going to a picture show and you're not going."

The first step in treatment was removal from this home. The family with whom he was placed was one in which both parents were living and there were a grown son and daughter in high school. They had lived for fifteen years in the neighborhood, were active in the church, and had numerous social contacts. The daughter's interests were identical with the mother's, and she could be depended upon in carrying out any plan of treatment for the patient. He accompanied her on her school trips to the museum and on special outings. The family life was simple and their attitude friendly. They received the boy as one of themselves, and showed a sympathetic and unsentimental interest in him. They showed intelligence in dealing with him, themselves reaching the conclusion that emphasis on good conduct brought the best results.

Given such a family the case worker's job becomes a contact with the case such as will help in tiding over the critical times that will come in dealing with this type of child. This consisted in weekly visits to the home to secure a report of behavior and to hear any complaints. The family was encouraged to use the worker as an ear for their difficulties, thus deflecting any irritation which might be felt with the boy to the worker. They were urged to consider him a problem on which they were at work and after a three month interval one visit was devoted to going over with them the period just past in order to note improvement or lack of it. They entered into this with interest and intelligence.

This boy has been with the family nine months, which is three times as long as he has been in any previous home. During this period four difficult times have been tidied over, when the family was contemplating giving him up as too great a problem for them. At one time the family did return the boy to the agency, but upon recognizing by actual placement in another home, the effect of inferior standards upon him, they agreed

to give him another trial. The boy's conduct has improved. There have been five instances of stealing and five instances of truancy. There has been no recurrence of temper tantrums, setting fires, or exhibitionism.

This type of work with the environment we may call manipulation—that is, making things happen, when they would not have so happened without outside intervention. In this case it was a continuance in one home; in another case it may be the securing of a special type of recreation or instruction, or employment, for a child handicapped physically or mentally. Many times the action is indicated by the situation, and there is no question about what to do. So we have a boy of working age who is jobless—a mother in poor physical condition, play facilities at hand but unknown to a child. The action taken is to find a job, to get the mother to a clinic, to inform the family of recreational resources or perhaps bring about actual joining of recreational centers. With such things the case worker is constantly occupied. There is the possibility of several different outcomes, and she swings things so as to bring about the one which appears most desirable. Or instead of taking an active part she may take a passive one. She may see that things are going a certain way; it would be possible for her to interfere, but she chooses not to do so in the interests of the case. A truant petition may have been filed by the Board of Education, and instead of interfering as she might, she allows this to go through.

But in the nature of things the social worker cannot affect more than a small part of the situation. There is physical limitation, the inability to be in two places at one time, together with the frequent lack of ordinary means of communication, such as the telephone; and again, the lack of extraordinary means of transportation. These lacks mean that things happen without her knowledge—an arrest or commitment—which might have been prevented. Beyond this sort of limitation there are the physical and social facts, such as death, and birth, and marriage, which are infinitely important as they affect the status of the patient, but as far as the case worker is concerned, are only to be observed and recorded and taken into consideration in subsequent plans.

This process of manipulation is continuous in any piece of work. In the majority of cases there is, in addition to this, some special experiment with reference to the specific behavior for which the child was referred to the clinic.

One type of experiment is when an effort is made to prove or disprove a hypothesis. An eleven-year-old girl—an illegitimate child—is a member of a family intermittently dependent on the local family welfare agency. Intelligence tests show her to have high average intelligence while the rest of the family is shown to be defective. The step-father is serving an indeterminate sentence in the state prison for larceny. The child's own father deserted the family eight years ago. The mother is foreign-born, speaks no English and lives a secluded life. The patient's own brother is in the dull and backward classification by tests; her half-brother and sister fall in the borderline group. The delinquencies consist in over-night trauancies from home from two to five days at a time, stealing being coincident with

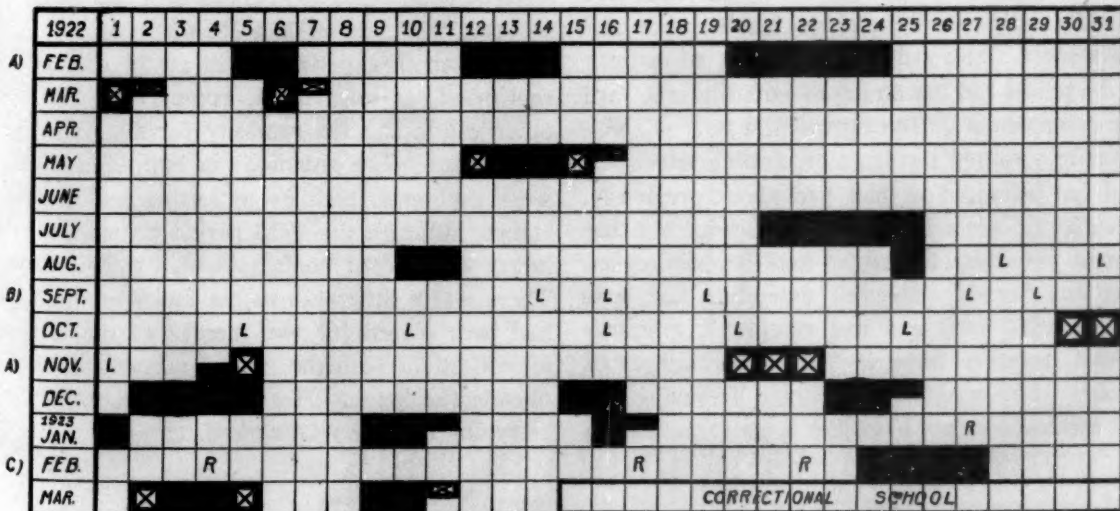
these. Investigation reveals the fact that she spends her time during truancy in local moving picture shows, attending as many as six shows in forty-eight hours. For food she buys cakes, peanuts, candy—such things as are not included in the home diet. It is further shown that a nine weeks' absence of any truancy coincided with the period in which she was drawing library books at the rate of three a week. It was thought that the child's behavior was possibly due to a monotonous home routine, and a recreational program, for the purpose of testing this out, was instituted. It was noted that during this period of twenty-eight days there was no instance of overnight truancy, while before this time trauancies had occurred practically every week. At the end of twenty-eight days there was an outbreak of two trauancies of four and three days respectively, on one of which she was accompanied by her younger brother. This experiment, together with those subsequent to her release from Parental School, to which she was

### CHART III TRUANCIES OF AN 11 YEAR OLD GIRL

A) DURING PERIOD IN WHICH NO RECREATION IS SUPPLIED

B) DURING PERIOD OF LIBRARY ATTENDANCE

C) DURING PERIOD OF SUPERVISED RECREATION



- TRUANCY FROM HOME  
 ⊗ TRUANCY FROM HOME AND SCHOOL  
 L LIBRARY ATTENDANCE  
 R SUPERVISED RECREATION



committed at this time, led the staff to conclude that the girl's behavior could be modified by the use of recreation, but not entirely controlled. (Chart III). In order to evaluate the obstacles to adjustment in her own home it was decided that, following her release from a second term at the Parental School, a trial placement in a boarding home would be effected.

The obstacles, the staff feels, are largely the discrepancies which exist between the girl and her mother in intelligence and in standards. The girl has read books ravenously, has attended many movies, has utilized all the avenues opened up to her for enlarging her horizon. She is very quick to adopt new ways of doing things, and at home wished for the "American food and ways" to which she had grown accustomed at Parental School. Her repeatedly expressed ambition is to go to high school, take a commercial course, and be a stenographer. The mother fails to understand these ambitions, referring always to the fact that at that age she was working and making mcaey. The mother resents the authority which "puts my husband in prison and makes my children go to school."

Between the periods of experiment while this girl is in the Parental School frequent contacts are made with her in order to maintain the friendly relation which exists between her and the worker. She makes an excellent adjustment in the school and has an improved attitude toward her delinquencies. During the first term she voluntarily admitted incidents of stealing which she had not admitted or had lied about previously. During the second term at the school she has shown considerable insight into her difficulties. She has herself suggested extending her term six months until she has completed grammar school, because there is "too much danger at home." She explains this phrase by saying that her mother does not allow her to go to the movies

when she wishes to go; she goes anyway; she is afraid to go home; she stays out overnight; she does not go to school, etc.

This experiment will be considered ended upon completion of a trial period in a private home other than her own, at which time we shall be able to compare the girl's actual behavior in her home environment with that in another environment which provides greater opportunities for expression. We shall also be able to compare her behavior in the controlled environment of a correctional school with that in an uncontrolled environment offering increased educational and cultural advantages.

Another type of experiment consists in the reconstruction of situations in an effort to discover what leads to specific behavior. This might be called provocative treatment. Thus in a case of a seven-year-old girl with temper manifestations so extreme that they had caused expulsion from two schools, four different times, this method was pursued. The case was treated in this way for one month in 1921 and for two months in 1923. Six types of restraints were recognized in varying situations: (1) physical restraint, that is when the child was prevented by force from an act already begun; (2) exaction of obedience in instances where there were signs of resistance; (3) refusal of a request; (4) crossing the child in a wish with the substitution of another person's wish; (5) correction, reprimand, or unfavorable comparison with another child; (6) the necessity for adapting to a play group. The situations in both experiments were the same, both as to setting and circumstance, although the 1923 period provided for a larger number of contacts with other children. There was a difference in the fact that the child had been placed for two months of the interim in institutions with the idea of private placement outside the home. Her fear at a necessity for returning to these was marked.

CHART IV

TEMPER MANIFESTATIONS IN 26 SITUATIONS IN WHICH THERE WAS A FORM OF RESTRAINT. (1921)

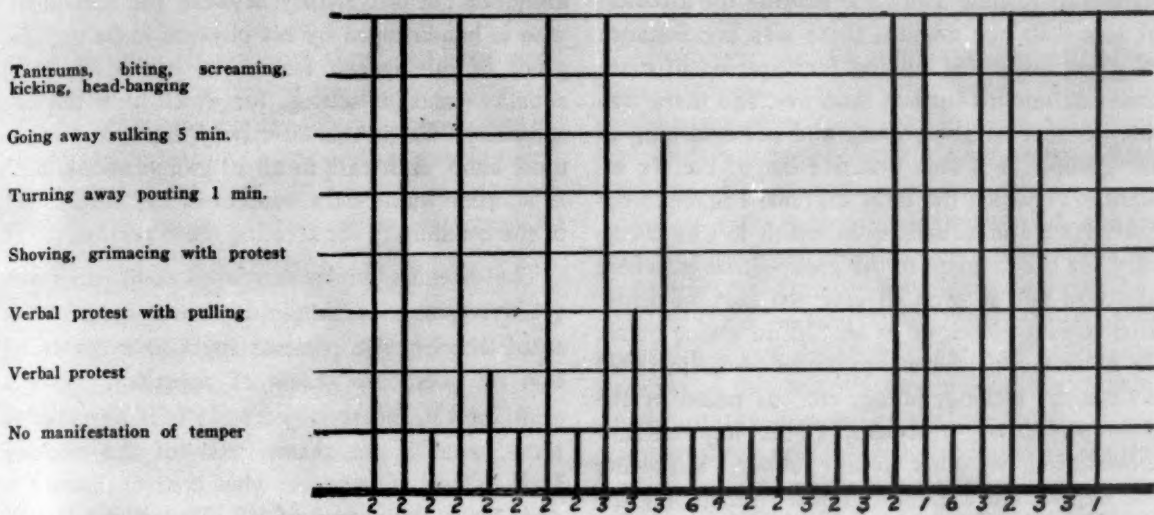
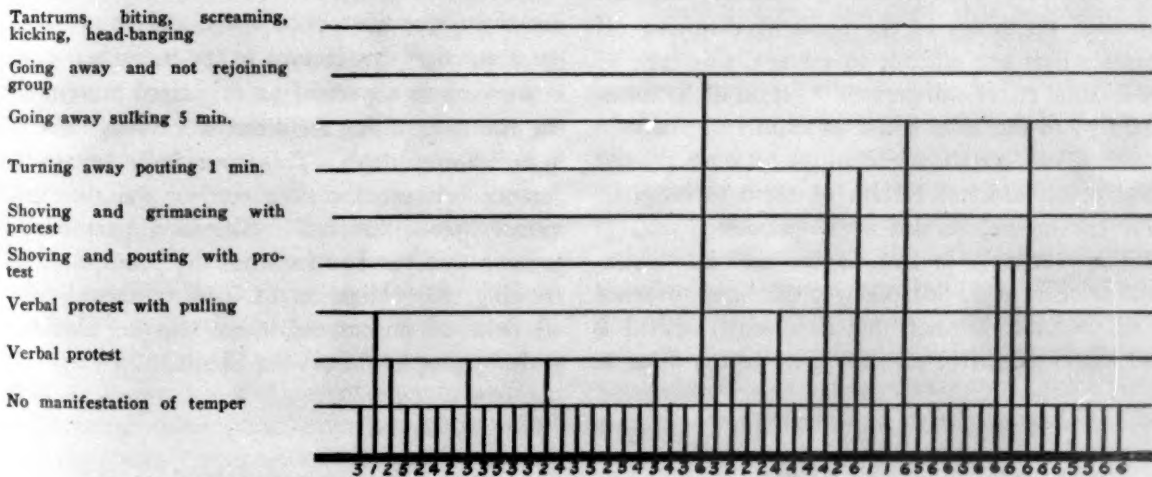


Chart IV. (1921). In this period there were twenty-six situations in which a temper tantrum might have occurred. In nine of these there was a complete tantrum which included screaming, striking, kicking, biting, head-ganging, falling limp, and swearing. These tantrums varied in length between five minutes and one hour.

Chart V. (1923). In this period there were fifty situations in which a temper tantrum might conceivably have occurred. In thirty-one of these there was no manifestation of temper. Ten of the nineteen manifestations of temper were verbal protests without other accompaniment. Two were verbal protests with pulling at worker's hand or clothing. There were two instances

CHART V

TEMPER MANIFESTATIONS IN 50 SITUATIONS IN WHICH THERE WAS A FORM OF RESTRAINT. (1923)



1. PHYSICAL RESTRAINT
2. EXACTION OF OBEDIENCE—IN INSTANCES WHERE THERE ARE SIGNS OF RESISTANCE
3. REFUSAL OF REQUEST
4. CROSSING IN A WISH WITH SUBSTITUTION OF ANOTHER'S WISH
5. CORRECTION, REPRIMAND, OR UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON WITH ANOTHER
6. NECESSITY FOR ADAPTING TO GROUP



in which shoving and pouting were dominant together with verbal protest. There were two instances of turning away and pouting for a period of less than one minute; there was one instance of going away and sulking for a period of more than one minute but less than five, and there was one instance of going away and not returning to the group. It is seen that five out of the six instances in which the most extreme responses occurred were in situations in which it was necessary for her to adapt to the group—that is, where she was not allowed to play the part of Little Red Riding Hood, or to be "It" in a ring game. In no case was there a response which included screaming, kicking, biting, etc., as noted in the first period of treatment. This improvement extends into her other social relations. Following the experiment the child attended school for the remainder of the term (four months) without being excluded.

What does this activity on the part of the social worker mean? Is it different from that going on all the time in every-day life? Individuals are accustomed to put into effect certain plans designed to help certain of their fellow members whom they see to stand in need of assistance. It is probable that social work in its genesis is such activity. In the simpler community where the members are well known to one another, and where civilization has not speeded up things to the point of throwing off cases which are difficult to salvage, this type of individual effort still serves. Certain of its members go to the alms house as unable to maintain themselves; certain of them go to state prisons and reformatories; certain of them to hospitals for the insane, certain of its wealthier sons to military schools in lieu of correctional institutions. But in an increasingly machine governed and urban civilization this haphazard method is no longer effective, and salvaging forces must be

organized to meet the organization which makes them necessary. Social work endeavors to minimize the discrepancy between the individual who is handicapped by his physical make-up, his grade of intelligence, his mental health, his personality—and his setting, for which he is not responsible. To do this effectively, the case worker must know each case in all its ramifications, and in addition know the resources in the family and in the community for treating the condition.

The stimulus "under nourished child" does not get a response as simple as "more food." Instead the response presents itself as a constellation of questions. Lack of appetite? Insufficient food? Incorrect diet? If it is any one of these, what is the reason back of the reason? If it is lack of appetite, what type of illness or disorder is at the root of it? If it is insufficient food, why? The poverty of the family? The unemployment of the father? If this is so, is it because of a general business depression or because he cannot secure work, because he is unable to keep a job, or because he is unwilling to work? If it is incorrect dietary, is this because of ignorance or lack of interest? To answer the army of questions raised by the stimulus "under nourished child" an examination must be conducted, such as the one outlined in the beginning of this paper. The case worker, in answering these questions specifically and in working out a solution satisfactory to the individual case, is working as a part of an organized movement, the efforts of which are directed towards a bridging of discrepancies. This, then, is the great difference between the case worker and the individual "philanthropist." She is a part of an organization—and as such has the prerequisite of training, the obligation of keeping records, the attribute of impersonal interest in her dealings with the people who are her clients.

## THE PROBLEMS OF ADMISSION AND DISCHARGE

MARY IRENE ATKINSON

**I**N MANY of our cities there are large open spaces which are used for parking purposes. One drives his car in, gets his check, pays his money to the man in charge and goes on his way, knowing that his Ford or Packard is perfectly safe. Later he comes back, shows his check to the caretaker and departs.

The caretaker has asked no questions. He does not care where his patron came from or whence he is going. His duty involves only the safe keeping of the machine while it is within the enclosure. He feels no responsibility about finding out when the machine was purchased, how long it has been used, how many miles it has been driven, what condition its engine is in, or whether the owner is going over a good road or a bad one when he drives the car out of the parking space. In other words, the only service the caretaker gives, or is expected to give, is to provide a safe parking place.

There are still some child-caring institutions in the United States which may very justly be termed parking places for dependent and neglected children. The persons in charge know little more about the child accepted than the caretaker of the parking ground knows about the machines he cares for. It is true the institution will probably know whether the parents are living or dead. Information which is as obvious as the make of a car, and can be secured with as much ease, is usually known to someone in connection with the Home. Unfortunately, few facts beyond these obvious ones are secured or, in some instances, even thought necessary. But it is the knowledge of how the child's "machinery works," under what circumstances he was "assembled," how he has been "driven," the distance he has traveled, and the sort of "gas" and "oil" he has been given that we need to know if we are going to keep our child-caring institutions from becoming merely parking places for dependent and neglected children and develop them instead into service stations.

More and more frequently the question is being raised as to the number of children needlessly in institutions for the care of supposedly normal dependents.

Fifteen years ago the institutional group would have answered unanimously "none," while the child-placing agencies, at least in some sections of the country, would have replied with equal emphasis "all."

During these past 15 years the two groups have been traveling toward each other instead of increasing the distance between themselves because each has realized that both may have a role to play in a well-rounded program of child-care. And out of this better understanding has come a change in the answer to the question: "How many children needlessly in institutions" on the part of the institutions themselves, except where boards of trustees and superintendents refuse to be honest and face the facts because of their loyalty to the institution, rather than to its service. The new answer is that many children are being given care simply because there has not been sufficient effort to do three things:

- (1) to gather all the facts incident to the existing family situation.
- (2) on the basis of these facts to attempt to solve the problem in some way other than by breaking up the family.
- (3) to review cases for which, at the time of admission, the institution was the only solution, with such frequency that every child is returned to family life at the earliest possible moment.

Many superintendents who know that this kind of service is absolutely essential, if children who do not need care are to be excluded, are helpless because they have no funds with which to set up adequate social machinery to meet this need.

Sometimes the reason the budget is inadequate is because the trustees have not seen the light and are still unbelievers. Over and over again we run into boards of trustees whose members are veritable sob-sisters, regardless of their sex. With tear-filled eyes they ask a superintendent how he can doubt that *all* who apply for care for their children are worthy! And they maintain that it is cruel to question distracted relatives too much, and that because these poor people ask, they should receive.

When the superintendent attempts to explain that severing family ties unnecessarily is one of the



cruelest things we can do to a human being, and when he says that to relieve a parent of his economic and social responsibility to a child is a process which eventually undermines the very foundations of society which are the most fundamental, he may be let in for a bad hour with some of the members of his governing body. And often boards dwell at great length upon the "poor orphans" who should be cared for, and glorify their own services in making it possible for the orphans to be reared in such wonderful surroundings. And the superintendent and the social worker make little impression when they delicately try to point out that few of the children admitted *are* orphans, and that a real orphan who is normal has no business in an institution anyway, but should be placed where he can develop new family ties so that he may have the advantage or a normal environment.

It would seem that the job which confronts us, as professional social workers, is (1) to remember the necessity for making social diagnosis before administering treatment, and (2) to remember that family life is something which should be fought for to the last ditch. After we ourselves have made these two principles part of our professional beatitudes then we may hope for success in getting our lay constituencies to do the same thing.

There are many institutions in which a large proportion of the children have been sent by courts and other social agencies. To provide a child with food, clothing and shelter, has been the paramount issue, and having accomplished this, the children remain "parked" indefinitely. The superintendent of the institution does not have legal guardianship. He is in much the same position as the man in charge of the parking space. He didn't drive the children in and he cannot drive them out. He can only await the return of the agency that holds the check. But there are two kinds of waiting, passive and militant.

Where agencies and courts take the line of least resistance in disposing of their children and having placed them where there is a roof over their heads and three sure meals a day peacefully forget about them, the institution is justified in becoming militant even though it has to wait. Sometimes it is the only way in which we can

be sure that justice will be given to the children in our care and to their parents as well.

If we are to be sure that children are not needlessly accepted for institutional care then what must we do? In attempting to make an intelligent diagnosis what is involved in the acceptance of children? How can we determine when a child shall or shall not be accepted provided the institution controls its own intake? What can a home do if it does not control its intake but must accept what is sent?

Some of the outstanding processes necessary for proper diagnosis are as follows:

1. Intensive case work by someone who has both training and experience and in addition the kind of personality which makes it possible to use successfully the "tools" with which training and experience have provided him.
2. Exhausting all other social possibilities in the treatment of the case in question before accepting the child. This means close coöperation with agencies in allied fields.
3. If admission is necessary, constant review of family situation and the child's development so that readjustment may be made at the earliest possible moment.
4. Continually reminding the agency committing the child originally that the institution is interested in knowing what is being done on the case.
5. Making the child's needs the first consideration and visualizing both the ultimate results, as well as the immediate effect on him and his family resulting from acceptance.

Frequently two questions are raised when admission policies are discussed. Shall the child be allowed to go cold and hungry while the case work is being done, and how can social service be secured? No child should suffer physically during this necessary interim between application and permanent acceptance or refusal. If he needs immediate shelter this should be given while the investigation is going on. All social technique falls short of the mark if it is not leavened by large quantities of that uncommon ingredient, common sense.

If the institution has no social service department or receives only a small number of children, sometimes arrangements may be made with existing case work agencies. If this is impossible, and the trustees refuse, or are unable to provide funds for this service, then it would seem that the

superintendent should put his problem up to the State Department of Public Welfare and enlist its assistance in solving the difficulty.

It is unfortunate that we cannot visualize the social service necessary to determine whether a child shall or shall not be admitted in such a way that it would make a more popular appeal. It is as important as food for it finally comes back to the matter of ethical and spiritual values. The Bible makes no comment that we know of regarding the consequences of severing the tie between parent and young child, but to us this seems a much more delicate relationship than the marriage of two adults, which man is commanded not to put asunder.

Perhaps sometime in the future an artist or a sculptor will paint a picture or model a statue which will enable us to believe that the spirit of social service is something real though it cannot be seen, and that it is as essential in our work with children as food and drink.

More and more business men are making the accusation that social workers are bringing forth new fangled projects for the business of America to support. If we are to meet this criticism we must do some detailed searching of our methods within the next five years. If an institution has a population of 200 children and a per capita of \$500, and 50 children are being cared for unnecessarily it means that \$25,000 is being unwisely spent, to say nothing of the non-economic phases involved in the situation.

Ultimately we may be asked to give conclusive evidence that all children admitted are there because the institution was the last resort and that every other solution had failed.

When we can show that such is the case, we need have no fears about financial backing, for the cause of children lies nearer the heart of the world than any other phase of social work. For this very reason it has been possible oftentimes for the ungodly as well as the godly to flourish, as the most spurious organization can always raise *some* funds if it appeals in the name of childhood.

The questioning business man forgets one thing when he accuses the social workers as a group of foisting all sorts of enterprises upon communities and asking for their support. He forgets that it

is the doctor, the lawyer, the baker and the candlestick maker, and the preacher, who usually dream the various kinds of social enterprises which flourish in America and that the social worker is only trying to bring some kind of order out of the chaos which the multiplicity of philanthropic urges of the above-named individuals has produced. The social worker group itself will never have money enough to launch any social enterprises. Always this group will be trying to develop better technique whereby the social machinery originally designed by some other profession or business, and supported by voluntary contribution or taxes, will not run amuck.

Child-caring institutions are decidedly running amuck when they keep their doors open and invite all and sundry to enter. They are running amuck when they open the door at the first feeble knock of someone, parent, agency, court, etc., who is seeking the easiest way. They are running amuck when they admit children without knowing everything that it is possible to know about them, not only the social facts regarding the parents, but facts about the child himself which will make possible intelligent handling and understanding. Somewhere recently we read that one of the points which should be included in a pre-admission investigation is: "What does a child like to play?" This bit of information was held to be one of the keys which is of greatest value to the institution in its effort to appraise the inner life of a child. Yet how often children are received about whom the persons entrusted with their care and training know nothing.

More and more we realize that the date of birth and the date of admission are very insufficient keys if they constitute the only means of unlocking the magic doors through which one must pass if he is going to attempt to tinker with Johnnie's soul. Some of us in our social work have been extreme fundamentalists in sticking to the literal interpretation of that passage in the Scriptures, which we cannot quote correctly, but the substance of which is that the more wisdom we have the more difficulties we get into.

The hospital which is supported by contributions or taxes, or both, would be greatly criticised if it cared for well people week after week and year after year. It would be criticised if it ac-



cepted sick people and having given them a bed and food neglected any further treatment. Institutions caring for children who can be provided for otherwise, or who after proper social treatment may be dismissed, are giving service analogous to that suggested above. By accepting such children homes are unable to care oftentimes for other children who greatly need the service which the institution can give.

In the matter of discharge, many of the same problems are faced as in admission. It is as unfortunate to discharge a child who still needs care as it is to admit the one who does not need it. Some institutions have had inflexible rules about age limits. As a result children have been sent out within a few months prior to graduation, or they have gone back to impossible conditions of one kind or another, and no further attention paid to them. If an institution invests capital in a child it has upon it the responsibility for seeing that the original investment is not sacrificed by slipshod discharge methods, which make it possible for a child to be placed in such surroundings that his development as a self-supporting useful member of society will be interrupted. During the whole time a child is in an institution someone should always have his eye on the ultimate reabsorption into normal family and community life which awaits him somewhere along the line. To

forget this means many emotional wrenches which might easily have been avoided with proper planning and forethought.

Many of the things which have been said are as true of courts and agencies as they are of institutions. The institution, properly used and properly understood, is a valuable adjunct to the tool chest of social procedure. Improperly used it is a curse and a menace to dependent childhood. He who maintains that an institution is a normal place in which to rear young dependent children begins with a wrong premise for all subsequent reasoning. In spite of all we can do, it is still an abnormal environment for growing children just as a hotel is an abnormal environment for an adult. Yet the stress of life is such that both children and adults must at times live an abnormal existence. To let this happen to children when it is unnecessary is evidence of complete lack of appreciation of the service an institution ought to give. The injunction to know the truth and the truth shall make you free is more applicable in the social field than almost any other. It constitutes a wonderful guide for all agencies dealing with children, as only by knowing the truth can one be free from inflicting some of the injustices which in the past have resulted from what was solemnly declared to be Sweet Charity and Faithful Service to the Most High.

## RURAL SOCIAL WORK

J. B. GWIN

**A** RURAL sociologist has stated that the forces that make for rural betterment must themselves be rural.

The significance of this statement depends, of course, upon its interpretation. The forces that make for rural betterment are in the main just people. What is a rural person and what are rural problems? Are the rural problems and rural people so entirely different from urban problems and urbanites that recognized social work principles and technique which have been developed in larger centers would prove ineffective and out of place in rural territory?

A rural case worker discussed her family problems at a recent conference in Missouri. Her

work takes her into homes where there are feeble, old people whose grown children are unwilling to care for them; to the homes of families where there are many children and an inadequate income; to the homes of women and children who have been deserted by husband and father; to homes where there is feeble-mindedness; to other homes where there are neglected children, delinquent children and children out of school. The worker's time is devoted to attempts to improve home conditions where the problems are the familiar ones found by all urban case workers but existing under a different environment. Nurses and nutrition workers who spend their time in rural districts deal with the types of illness and

malnutrition usually found in the larger centers.

The difference between the type of worker or workers needed in the smaller towns, in the open country and workers in cities is essentially a difference in mental attitudes, in points of view. While many trained workers are distinctly urban and have a city outlook on life, there are just as many others who have been trained in the cities and have gotten their experience there, but who in their sympathies and their understandings have never gotten very far away from the soil. The flow of life from the farm to the city and back again has meant to a considerable degree that in many of the smaller towns there are people with an urban viewpoint, and that in some of the larger cities, the prevailing type of citizen is still largely rural. This is especially true in the West and Middle West. A Red Cross Executive Secretary, who was reared in the country but who has a distinctly urban viewpoint, was unsuccessful in developing Red Cross work in a city of 75,000. She was replaced by a worker reared in a large city but with rural sympathies and understanding, and the change has effected a decided improvement in the work. Both workers were equally well trained but the second worker who did understand rural people had little difficulty in finding her place in this community of 75,000 where many of the leaders still have a distinct rural attitude and understanding. It has been contended for some time that the highly trained worker who has received training and experience in the larger cities cannot adapt herself and make the necessary adjustments to rural work. It has been also contended that the rural people not only would never understand the need for this technical service but that the cost of it was prohibitive. Some have gone so far as to advocate the need for an entirely different kind of training for these rural workers and to declare that the trained case worker, the public health nurse, and the recreational director would never find a place in the open country and in the small towns. The country needs workers with a rural viewpoint and with rural understanding and sympathies, but there is no real need there for untrained or only partially trained workers. All the skill and knowledge which have been gained in social work is needed in rural work. Only the best public health nurses with the most experience and the broadest under-

standing can do really effective work in the country. Only the best trained and experienced case workers can adequately meet the situations which come to them when working in the country. The task of organizing and planning for social gatherings, sports, and recreation in the smaller towns and rural districts should have the attention of the most experienced recreational workers.

The farmers are ready to pay for the things they understand and believe in. Economic necessity forced upon them the coöperative enterprises which have been established so quickly and so successfully in the Northwest. In the coöperative movements the farmers have shown a startling ability to join forces in a common endeavor and they have been willing to put their money into this. The significance of this remarkable movement is very likely to be overlooked. We have seen indications of the same ability to effectively join forces when the farmers have called a meeting to raise money in support of the work of a rural nurse or of a county case worker. The success of the coöperative movement should teach us that the success of any movement among the farmers depends upon its coöperative nature. If they can be gotten to accept a piece of work as their own and to assume responsibility for it, success is assured unless unfavorable economic conditions prevail.

While the nurse and the trained case worker are finding a place in more of the small towns and are working out from these towns into rural districts, it is true that this type of work has received a very slow acceptance on the part of rural people. This is due in the main to the fact that such people live more alone, that they do brood more over wrongs, or fancied wrongs, and that they are organized with more difficulty into workable groups behind their natural leaders. It is essential, of course, that an understanding and knowledge of social work be given to the farmers but of more importance, it seems to me, is the need for a development of the knowledge of the principles of organization. It will be a real contribution if any organization can get the rural folk to understand social work, the kind they need, but it is a greater contribution to get them to work together in coöperative groups for common purposes. City folk are accustomed to working along organization lines. Big things



have been accomplished because they could do this. In rural work too often some one outstanding person accepts the sole responsibility for some activity. There is a chapter of the Red Cross in rural Missouri supporting a nurse where most of the money and practically all the direction comes from one man. He is, of course, very proud of his ability to make the thing go, but does not understand why he has to do so much himself. The essential task in such a community, if the work is to be continued and to be accepted, is to develop a responsible organization. This means an active committee with responsibility divided among the members. It means regular meetings and all the other formalities which go with an effective organization. The rural people do not yet see the value of this. Without regular meetings and formal reports from the worker or workers, accurate information regarding the work is not widespread. Appreciation of its value and such understanding of it as prevails depends too frequently, when there are no regular meetings with reports, upon rumor and hearsay.

The financial outlay required for social work of a high standard in rural districts is considered prohibitive by many leaders who have been interested in studying the possibilities for the extension of social work to rural districts. There are untrained or partially trained workers employed in many of the smaller towns and also nurses who have had no public health training, and almost invariably the salaries paid these workers is sufficient to secure a qualified worker. The expense for the right kind of service to rural people has not always proven prohibitive in rural districts. The nurse is a common sight on country roads and case workers are getting out into the country more and more. This has been made possible by the development of better organizations so that the rural people can work together to better advantage and by various combinations. This may mean combinations of territories or the combination of duties and responsibilities. Trained service has been made possible to Red Cross chapters in many instances because the organization was county-wide. In other instances, the principal towns in one county have combined to employ a worker. Two counties have gone together in some instances where the population

was scattered in order to employ a nurse. County officials have combined funds with funds provided by private organizations. Such workers have taken on a variety of related duties in these small places, but a knowledge of the technique of case work is necessary for the proper handling of a variety of social problems. Many health activities especially in the smaller communities can with considerable advantage center around the work of a public health nurse. A recreation or social activities expert is accustomed to function as a director of a variety of activities.

Every community, no matter how small, should be able to provide for certain minimum social needs either from its own resources or by combination with other towns or groups in the open country. These minimum social requirements may be placed in three groups:

1. Family Social Work,  
Child Welfare and Protection of Neglected Children,  
Probation and Parole Work,  
Visiting Teacher,  
Juvenile Court Work,  
Girls' Protective Work.

An experienced and trained caseworker with the rural viewpoint should be qualified for all these services.

2. School Nursing,  
Visiting Nursing, including tubercular work,  
Health Education,  
Mothers' Classes,  
Prenatal Work,  
Clinics.

A well trained and experienced public health nurse with such volunteer help as is generally available from local doctors can direct all these activities.

3. Planning of Social Gatherings,  
Sports and Athletic Contests,  
Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls' Activities,  
Community Sings,  
Home Comings,  
Old Settlers' Meetings, etc.,  
Beautification of Village and County.

All these activities can be effectively handled by a Director of Recreation and Social Activities.

I do not mean to imply that these three workers can meet in full the social needs of all small communities, nor do I claim that it would be possible to finance the services of three such workers in all communities where they are needed. The total cost of these three services would be from \$6,500.00 to \$8,000.00 a year even if they had a common office and made use of the same car. Many communities of from two thousand to five thousand are already financing one or two of these services with a trained worker. The case worker is sometimes a superintendent of county welfare, as in Missouri, Iowa and other states, or a Red Cross executive secretary, and in a few instances a secretary of a Social Service Bureau. The latter organizations generally limit their services to a local community and consequently these organizations are not generally found in the smaller places.

This may seem like a very large budget for small communities of from one thousand to five thousand people but these services are needed especially in the country, and the possibility of

financing them is much greater if they are organized on a county-wide basis or at least include several small communities and much of the open country. Many counties are spending this much and more trying to meet these or similar needs with untrained service. Sheriffs are being paid additional salaries to do probation work. County commissioners draw salary for administering poor relief. In some states probate judges are permitted to hire someone at a small salary to do probation work and generally this is some clerk. School officials or executives are permitted to spend small sums in the employment of attendance officers and often this additional pay goes to a clerk in the employ of the school. Trained service can be secured if these duties and salaries are combined. By various combinations of duties, by better organization, by better coöperation between the small towns and open country adequately trained workers with rural sympathies and knowledge can be supported in rural districts. The present trend is decidedly in that direction.

#### GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

Reforming the institution of marriage is a ticklish business, but one that needs doing in the future interests of the race. Major Leonard Darwin believes that eugenic principles and immediate relief can be combined in a policy of prohibiting the marriage of the insane and feeble-minded and requiring the exchange of certificates between those intending to marry, so that neither party need remain in ignorance of the physical or social defects of the other. Though the latter step might increase the number of illegitimate births, this would be preferable to our present enforced marriages without mutual affection merely to ensure legal legitimacy. His thoughtful discussion appears as the leading article of the October *Eugenics Review*.

\* \* \*

A somewhat similar line of reasoning is followed by E. A. Kirkpatrick in the *Journal of Social Hygiene* for November. "Render Unto Cæsar" considers marriage solely as a social institution in certain aspects of which the state is

vitaly concerned. Cæsar's due is the complete separation of law and religion in the contracting of marriage; more care by the state in supervising and granting licenses and in ascertaining the results by examination and records of the children produced; and the legal distinction between companion marriage and family marriage, one being largely a matter of contract between individuals and the other a relation in which the welfare of society is most intimately involved.

\* \* \*

Heart disease kills more people in America than any other single cause. Its approaching conquest will be one of the greatest triumphs of medicine. The *Survey Graphic* for November 1 has devoted itself to this problem, and in six articles by well-known physicians and social workers, headed by Dr. Haven Emerson, discusses the possible prevention and cure of the disease, the work of clinics for cardiac patients in industry, in hospitals, and in the home, the all but tragic situation of the child with heart trouble, and the oppor-



tunity for organized community effort in attacking this most fatal of our remaining scourges.

\* \* \*

The infant schools of Pestalozzi and Robert Owen a century ago have recently been revived in "The Nursery School Movement" of England, Italy, France, and this country. Arnold Gesell in *School and Society* for November 22 describes them as agencies for the study and guidance of the child's personality from birth to the sixth year, and as a means of necessary social control during that period. They furnish a solid footing for our extended educational ladder, coördinating the work of the other child-welfare agencies. In their true function they conflict with neither the day nursery nor the kindergarten, and have actually increased the responsibility of parents for their children's education.

\* \* \*

"For Mothers in Town and Country," Saskatchewan and New York State have inaugurated plans, similar in purpose but differing considerably in detail, for nursing housekeepers or mothers' helpers, young women with some training as nurses who will go into a home and do whatever work is required in cases of sickness or temporary need of any sort. The positions have appealed to women with a genuine desire for social service, who are expected to be in especial demand throughout the remoter rural districts. The two schemes are outlined in the *Survey* for November 15.

\* \* \*

The automobile as a hazard to public health has created a new problem of some magnitude. Violent deaths due to collision or other accident, carbon monoxide and lead poisoning, the increase in diabetes and other sedentary ills, infections traced to unsanitary conditions in tourist camps, and the more rapid spread of disease—for all of which motoring is to be held responsible—must be reduced by a campaign waged by all health agencies in this country and Canada, says A. J.

Chesley in the leading article of the *American Journal of Public Health* for November. . . . "Sanitation Problems in Resorts and Tourist Camps" are considered in greater detail, as they relate to hotels, private cottages, lake resorts, and camps, by John M. Hepler in the same issue.

\* \* \*

Public health officers have hitherto not taken an active part in programs of mental hygiene. Responsibility for care of the insane and feeble-minded now falls on state boards which administer hospitals and clinics, and a number of miscellaneous private agencies; there are no city bureaus of mental hygiene, and only one state bureau. Whether the local health officer can or should incorporate this sort of work into his present schedule is a question to be answered only after considering the local conditions in each city. Such are among the findings of a committee on mental hygiene, a portion of whose report, "Mental Hygiene and the Health Officer," is quoted in the same magazine.

\* \* \*

Here also is the result of an investigation into "Public Health Practice in Small Cities and Towns of Connecticut" made by Ira V. Hiscock and Francis M. Mumson. The authors describe organization, personnel, expenditure, milk and food inspection, water supply, garbage and sewage disposal, control of disease, school health examinations, and public nursing in 21 towns, finding considerable variation in methods and the need for development of this field of work by capable leadership. . . . Lewis H. Carris, writing in the following article on the conservation of vision among school children, discusses the limitations of the present methods of examination, desirable standards for making tests of the eye, the present extent of defective sight, and its correction through notification to parents or special conservation of vision classes in the schools.

The second annual report of the American Child Health Association appears in the *Child Health Magazine* for November. The year's work was planned with four objectives: to get a true picture of conditions relating to child health throughout the country, to develop local and state-wide programs, to promote more effective service by existing national groups, and to inform and educate the public. Progress along each of these lines is given in some detail, with especial emphasis on the recent survey of child health conditions in 86 medium-sized cities and the work of the four demonstration centers in Ohio, North Dakota, Georgia, and Tennessee. A fifth center is to be opened during 1925 in Marion county, Oregon.

\* \* \*

In the same issue Eleanor Stockton writes of the outstandingly successful "Children's Week" held in San Francisco last May, in which the city Department of Health attempted to weigh and measure all children about to enter school for the first time, and to follow up in the homes cases that needed further care. . . . And "How Some Little Bluenoses Find Health" tells of the recent work of the health centers in Halifax and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, established through the use of surplus funds given by Massachusetts citizens after the disastrous explosion of 1917. All the usual clinics are held—prenatal, baby and child welfare, eye, ear, nose and throat, nutrition, posture, tuberculosis, and venereal, and pre-school dental, the last being the oldest in Canada and the second oldest in America.

#### FAR WESTERN CHILD HEALTH DEMONSTRATION

The Child Health Demonstration Committee of the Commonwealth Fund has chosen Marion County, Oregon, as the field of its child health demonstration program in the Western states. Other demonstration counties already under way are: Fargo, North Dakota; Athens, Georgia; and Rutherford, Tennessee.

Marion County, Oregon, is essentially rural,—Salem, the state capital, having a population of only 25,000. The county's varied crops—berries, nuts, hops, flax—and its developing dairy and canning interests indicate a greater variety and stability of resources than would be found in a one-crop or one-industry community. These industries present also perplexing child health problems incident to a chronic migratory labor population, and common to a large area of the Far West. This group is variously estimated, in Marion County, at from three to ten thousand. An attempt will be made to work out a practical plan for their health and educational needs.

The Committee's objective is the development of a sound community health program, beginning with the protection and promotion of child health, which the average community can carry on permanently. Such a program provides for health service beginning with the prenatal period and extending to adult life and for all general health measures affecting directly or indirectly the health of the community's children. It aims not only to free the babies and children of today as far as possible from physical and mental handicaps, but to promote wholesome and constructive attitudes toward an efficient, far-visioned public health program and toward its intelligent support. In Marion County, it is the purpose to make this program give special consideration to western needs and western conditions.



## The Community and Neighborhood

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by Leroy E. Bowman, 503 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

### EVIDENCES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AS SEEN IN TYPES OF NEW YORK CITY DANCE HALLS

LEROY E. BOWMAN AND MARIA WARD LAMBIN

A RECENT and extensive survey of the dance halls in New York City has revealed differences in these institutions that led the investigators to classify them in seven categories. Familiarity with the study, supplemented by data collected in other ways concerning the few dances not covered in the survey, suggests as the most satisfactory explanation of the characteristics that group these halls as they are found, the presence or absence of family, group, neighborhood or other relations. The type of dance hall scored lowest by the investigators and for which alone the committee suggests elimination, is one which apparently has sprung up to serve that group of persons (largely or altogether men) without community or social relations. The types vary from this, serving the unconnected man, to the other extreme in which a hall is rented or owned by a whole community of persons, men and women, known more or less intimately to each other and sometimes even related by blood ties. In the latter all ages are apt to be found; in the first type only adult men are admitted; and between these two the other halls range.

The study was carried on by an Advisory Dance Hall Committee which originated in a sub-committee of the City Recreation Committee of which the first named author of this article is secretary. The Dance Hall Committee represented eleven co-operating agencies of which the Women's City Club and the City Recreation Committee were the leading factors. The second named author was the director of the study. The purpose was to describe the situation. The report itself is apparently and actually a statement of facts, and the recommendations deal with safety and health sug-

gestions rather than condemnatory phrases for patrons or institutions. The wish is expressed that æsthetic elements and play devices may be injected into the dance, but there is no idea either to increase or to decrease its popularity. The only suppressive recommendation of the eleven made is that the "closed" halls, to be described later, should be abolished.

Perhaps the best justification for making a dispassionate study of the modern dance hall, without moralistic bias, lies in the high degree of its popularity. Within the past ten years it has become an economic institution of unquestioned importance. The recent study in New York revealed that in that city there are now 786 licensed halls, an increase of over sixty per cent over the number in 1920, when investigation disclosed 476. The distribution by boroughs at the present time shows Staten Island to have seventy-six, mostly restaurants and roadhouses; the Bronx to have ninety; Brooklyn one hundred and ninety; Queens two hundred and one, and Manhattan two hundred thirty-eight. These differences correspond roughly to differences in the population of the several boroughs, with the exception of Queens, where a large number of small community organizations, real estate corporations and the like, hold licenses which are used only occasionally. In addition dancing takes place regularly in eighteen or twenty hotels, which by legal exemption are not licensed as they have more than fifty bedrooms. To these should be added the activities of public and philanthropic agencies, such as the public schools and the settlements. From investigations made in another connection by the Community Committee, a research organization, it

appears that regular dances are given in twenty-one public school social centers and at least a score of settlements. Because of the character of their auspices, those who give these dances are not required to secure licenses.

#### TYPES OF HALLS

Licensed halls include three general types; restaurants, where dancing is more less incidental to the serving of food; rented halls, where the activities of the management are limited to hiring the hall for dances arranged by outside social or commercial organizations; and ballrooms, where the management itself provides all entertainment.

Dancing in restaurants is so well-known as to need no description. It varies from a principal activity as in the Greenwich Village resorts, to a mere incidental amusement as in some of the Chinese "Chop Suey parlors," or it is interspersed between numbers of an elaborate vaudeville program known as the "cabaret." The distribution of these subdivisions, which are quite valid because they also indicate differences in types of patrons, is indicated by these figures for Manhattan: restaurants, 65; chop suey parlors, 17; cabarets, 30.

Rented halls were, as a rule, originally the headquarters for various social, community, fraternity or union organizations and are especially equipped for recreational activities. But the majority of them are now run by commercial organizations, particularly since the passage of the Volstead law, which made operation under social auspices rather difficult. Previously a large part of the upkeep had been defrayed by the sale of beer and light wines. Only sixteen rented halls are still owned by such social organizations out of a total of one hundred and three. The dances given in them are of two types, purely commercial and social. The first kind is engineered by one young man or a group of two or three, and it may be noted in passing that a not inconsiderable number of youths are engaged in this type of enterprise. The expenses of the dance are paid by the entrepreneurs and the attendance is partly secured by advertising, partly by personal solicitation. Very little attempt is made to add features to the evening's entertainment. The social affairs need little description as they re-

semble any club or fraternity party. Often excellent amateur theatrical performances are given and the social spirit developed is delightful.

It is the ballrooms which have in the past engaged the attention of the reformers and the press. They are of two types: the so-called "closed hall" (a term borrowed from the Far West, where that type of hall flourished for a number of years), which caters only to male patronage, and the "dance palace," or very large ballroom, which caters to general patronage. In New York there are twenty-one closed halls and ten dance palaces.

Closed halls are usually converted stores on second or third floors of office buildings and require a relatively small investment. In the closed hall the commercialization of the dance has been carried to the utmost extreme. Girls are hired on a commission basis to dance with the men patrons. As a rule, no other women are admitted, or, at least, they are not welcome. The dance floor is partitioned off and access to it is possible only through one or more gateways. Admission charges include six or eight dances. Thereafter, each dance must be paid for at the rate of ten cents, or, in some instances, two for twenty-five cents. Dances are short, averaging from forty to sixty seconds and intermissions are from thirty to sixty seconds in length. Usually only one orchestra is employed and the music is not up to the quality of that of the dance palaces. Both patrons and the young women dance partners are exploited. Patrons must spend two or three dollars for any reasonable number of dances and it is not unusual for them to spend as much as five or six dollars in an evening. The girls are paid four cents a dance, or five if they are on duty on both Saturday and Sunday nights. In order to make a fair living, say \$20.00 per week, a girl must dance four hundred dances a week or about seventy dances an evening. These are crowded into four hours or one dance every three minutes. It is strenuous physical work and the girls admit that the wear of the work is considerable. A large proportion of the girls dance only two or three evenings per week and have other positions during the day. Little is done to vary the monotony of the program of the closed halls. A few have a cheap



form of vaudeville entertainment on one evening a week, but aside from this no efforts at entertainment are made.

The dance palaces are a fairly recent development, the first having been opened in New York in Grand Central Palace in 1911. Since prohibition they have spread rapidly throughout the country and every large city has at least four or five. They are characterized generally by handsome appointments, spaciousness and huge attendances, accommodations being made for anywhere from five hundred to six thousand patrons. Dances vary in length from three to six minutes and intermissions are about as long. As a rule, two orchestras are employed; playing alternately, and in some cases the music is on a par with that of the first-class hotels. The admission charge usually entitles a patron to from three to six dances; thereafter an extra charge of five cents is made for each dance. Much space is set aside for lounging and not more than one-half of the patrons dance at any one time. So-called "hostesses" who act as dancing partners are employed in these halls and a limited amount of teaching is done.

In an attempt to enrich their program, these halls make use of vaudeville acts similar to those of the cabarets, except that the performers are as a rule less skillful and less expensive. Other special features include specially elaborate "balls" and prize contests for pivoting, one-step, fox trot and tango, carnival favors, fancy dress parties, and amateur performances by patrons. Practically no invention or imagination is displayed in the features. Their purpose is to introduce a modicum of novelty which has advertising value into the standardized and monotonous program. Although the patron participates in the contests, he is never stimulated to play. There is one exception to this statement which is well worth noting—the Tuesday night feature at Roseland, when a "Paul Jones," a procession and a number of old-fashioned cotillion figures are introduced, which require the participation of the patron and a genuine play spirit. Nearly all of the halls have annual balls on which a great deal of money is spent for prizes for fancy costumes, for special vaudeville stars and expensive favors. But they vary little in program from the regular entertain-

ment. Each hall, as a rule, runs a weekly contest in one-step and pivoting. Such contests are so presented as to stimulate only a desire to win a prize which often has considerable money value, instead of being utilized to promote graceful dancing. An exception is the tango contest at Roseland on Sunday afternoons, which seems to have stimulated the learning of this beautiful dance and to have increased the number of couples there who dance it with grace and skill.

#### SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

The size of the problem presented by this rather imposing array of institutions is indicated by figures of attendances and expenditures gathered during the New York study. A carefully calculated estimate, based on actual attendance during field visits, revealed that there are over six million per year. This gross figure assumes real significance only when related to the population. The study indicated that the majority of patrons fall in the age group between seventeen and forty, and that whereas the distribution of the sexes in restaurants is fairly even, the dance palaces attract approximately sixty men to forty women, while the closed halls attract only men. Using this distribution and the census figures for 1920 as a basis for calculation, it appears that ten per cent of the women and fourteen and one-tenth per cent of the men in the selected age group attend dance halls once per week. A majority of the patrons actually do attend once a week or oftener, while a smaller group attend only occasionally. Table A summarizes the attendance figures.

TABLE A

#### ESTIMATED ATTENDANCES AT LICENSED DANCE PALACES IN MANHATTAN BOROUGH, NEW YORK CITY

(The statements below are based on a total of 105 visits made to dance places, including 13 closed halls, 21 restaurants, 9 dance palaces, and 12 club dances. These visits represent attendance during all operating hours of the week, including afternoons and evenings. Visits were made to the various places at random and the number made per session varied from one to nine, but on the whole they were well distributed. In making the calculated average per session, which appears in the first column of the table, allowances were made for all differences in the number of visits actually made so that each has its proper proportion.)

	Average Per Day	Total No. of Places	Aggregate Per Day	Total Per Week	Annual Total (50 Weeks)
Restaurants .....	74	82	6,068	54,612	2,730,600
Club dances .....	346	2,999 y'rly		20,753	1,037,554
Roseland, afternoons ..	30		30	150	7,500
Dance palaces .....	467	9	4,213	37,917	1,895,850
Closed hall .....	65	17	1,105	8,840	442,000
Grand Total .....				122,272	6,113,604
Total number of males between seventeen and forty in Manhattan Borough .....					490,881
Percentage of males attending dance halls once per week ..					14.
Percentage of males attending closed dance halls once per week .....					1.9
Total number of females between seventeen and forty in Manhattan Borough .....					512,762
Percentage of females attending dance halls once per week .....					10.

It is, of course, impossible to discover the entire amount spent on dancing, particularly for the restaurants where no charge is made for the activity. An estimate can, however, be made for the commercial halls, and it indicates that over three and a half millions of dollars are paid out directly for dancing in Manhattan. If the ten cents is spent by each patron for coat checking (practically obligatory) and ten cents for refreshments, the total revenue runs over four million dollars. The detailed figures are given in Table B, based on the attendance estimates in Table A.

TABLE B

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES ON COMMERCIAL DANCING IN  
RENTED HALLS, DANCE PALACES, AND CLOSED HALLS,  
IN MANHATTAN BOROUGH, NEW YORK CITY

	Club dances	Palaces	Closed halls	Totals
Average admission charge for male .....	.81	.74	.93	
Average dance charge for male per session (extra) ..	None	.21	\$1.62	
Average admission charge for female .....	.77	.67	None	
Aggregate admissions males per session (all halls) ..	\$1,149	\$1,870	\$1,027	
Aggregate dance charge males per session (all halls) .....	None	530	1,790	
Aggregate admission charge female per session (all halls) .....	872	1,128	None	
Admissions males per week ..	8,416	16,835	5,580	
Dance charge males per week .....	None	4,777	13,320	
Admissions females per week .....	8,001	10,161	None	
Admissions males per year (50 weeks) .....	410,860	841,757	410,060	\$1,662,677
Dance charges males per year .....	None	238,877	716,040	954,917
Admissions females per year .....	400,077	506,987	None	907,064
Grand Total .....				\$3,524,658

The figures given above refer only to the dances conducted in such places as secure licenses. The number who attend dances in settlements and community centers is surely very small in comparison. A liberal estimate made by the Community Committee puts the attendances yearly at such dances as between 189,000 and 200,000.

## DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

A map showing the distribution of dance halls would disclose the fact that the rented halls are widely scattered over the Borough of Manhattan. One familiar with the nature of neighborhoods in the Borough would recognize the location of the few clusterings as settlements of foreign speaking peoples, especially the lower east side and the middle east side. It is in these halls that communities of people of various ages congregate to give expression to their desire for fun, romance and a little art in strictly social ways; governed by the habits and traditions and to some extent also by the older or the more responsible members of their own racial, religious and neighborhood groups. The dance under these conditions is a complex or community of interest and responsibilities.

Restaurant dance halls are scattered, but congregate naturally in the business centers, downtown and uptown, and along the business and gayety thoroughfare, Broadway. The dance palaces hug the central portions of the city where recreational business concentrates and neighborhood relations are almost absent. Cabarets mark the line of Broadway but spread up into the "uptown" business and amusement centers. The three types are business institutions in form and fact. There is little or no pretense of social control or of intent to regard personal or group relations: there is merely a recognition of a want for a dance place with or without food and drink, and a commercial answer for that want.

The closed dance halls are to be found where, for the most part, rented halls and neighborhood halls are found, namely, in cosmopolitan districts. The closed hall appeals to the outsider, whereas the neighborhood hall appeals to those within one of the many groups in the area of various nationalities. The closed hall is meant to serve the unconnected man, especially the one who is made to feel, or does feel, that he is not welcome or at home in the other dance halls. It supplies him with a partner but does not permit the man who has a lady partner to enter.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AS EXHIBITED IN  
DANCE HALLS

It appears that the neighborhood dance halls and the rented halls when secured, as they often



are, by local groups, serve the individuals knitted together by many ties of blood, nationality, language, church and fraternal association. The cabarets and restaurants seem to serve a group who are far more fortuitous in composition and related to each other by few, casual and ephemeral bonds. The dance palaces and hotels serve a group attracted from a much larger area, including not only the whole city but the sightseers from other states and lands. In the "closed" dance hall, the man without a country or a home, without much hope of an introduction to a lady, or perhaps with too great bashfulness to seek one, can buy his sociability, poor as it is, by the evening. He can also select, from what choice there is, of the women provided for him and find in the commercialism of the affair, a control over his partner that longer acquaintance, better understanding and perhaps more finesse, secures for the more fortunate male of more numerous social ties.

Quotations taken from the statements of several of the investigators are illuminating on this point:

The commercial dance palaces attract their patrons from all parts of the city. Very few have a strictly local or neighborhood patronage. This may be due in part to the fact that they recruit their clientele largely by advertising and in part to the tendency in large cities to seek amusements outside the local neighborhood. All nationalities are found in the large ballrooms or dance palaces. Those on Broadway seem to be chiefly patronized by Hebrews, and in the halls frequented by factory operatives a great number of Italians and South Europeans are found. At the afternoon dances there seems to be a large proportion of what might be called the Nordic type. Many South American business men attend the Broadway dance palaces. Many of these belong to the older group of patrons and they usually dance with the instructresses. Very few Orientals are found in the palaces. This may be due to discrimination against them, although only one instance of discrimination was encountered during the study. The patrons in the dance palaces are largely under thirty; the proportion over that age probably does not rise to more than ten per cent. Minors are found in relatively few numbers in the Broadway palaces but on certain evenings make up possibly thirty-five to forty per cent of the patronage at a cheaper hall off the main thoroughfare. All of the large ballrooms attract sightseers who may belong to any class and nationality.

In the examples quoted of dance palaces, one is noted as attracting a large number of sailors. Another is said to be frequented by "girls who

have no other opportunity for social contact." One girl explained "there is nothing else to do." One downtown restaurant is thus described: "These places are primarily ones in which young people can let down the bars which restrict them in the environments where they usually move; here they can make rather indiscriminate love, etc." The investigator says that "most of the men patrons came from uptown, some of them from Columbia University and the girls from as far as Brooklyn and Jersey towns."

"In the closed halls the economic status does not seem to be as varied as one finds in the dance palaces. In the larger number of halls the young men are factory workers or poorer paid clerks. In three or four halls, college boys are to be found and sometimes men of the salesman and buyer type." "Four (closed) halls are patronized almost exclusively by Orientals—Filipinos, Japanese and Chinese—white girls being employed to dance with them. The patrons seem to be for the most part unattractive boys who would not be welcome in the larger halls and could not compete with the attractive and well groomed boys who frequent them. This is particularly true of two closed halls on the lower East Side." In three halls it was noted that "the patrons were chiefly first generation foreign boys who did not speak the English language very well and consequently would be handicapped in a promiscuous group such as one finds in the dance palaces. Besides the foreigner, the closed hall seems to attract boys and men who are too timid, too unattractive or too inexperienced socially to feel at ease in the large handsome ballrooms. The girls employed appear, many of them, to be hard-working and honest; a minority have the earmarks of the hardened prostitute." (Soliciting was found in only two closed halls and was suspected in another). "Very few minors are found in the closed halls and relatively few older men. The majority of the patrons run between twenty and thirty years of age."

It is said of the various closed halls: "Thirty-five men were present, a few Italians, Greeks and a number of Orientals." Again "all but five were Orientals, several of whom were in navy uniform." In another hall the investigator was treated "as a stranger in New York."

A sharp contrast to this situation is presented by the club dances in the rented halls.

On Saturday night a rapid succession of visits to these would discover a benefit dance by a Hebrew Relief Society on the lower East Side, where the poorest paid factory operatives come dressed in their best clothes, with grandfather and the few months old baby in tow. There is much gesticulating and much conversation in Yiddish. In the fifties (50th to 60th Street) we come upon a highly respectable lodge party where everyone is in evening clothes and the most decorous conduct is the rule. Farther on one finds a Bohemian benefit dance raising money for one of the numerous Bohemian charities—a bit of transplanted European life to the accompaniment of a jazz orchestra. And still farther north we come to the annual ball of a big Catholic Society which has prepared for the occasion an elaborate and excellent vaudeville entertainment of amateur talent. Everyone knows everyone else at the ball and a stranger cannot find a dancing partner unless he is properly vouched for. There are Spanish, Italian and Ukrainian dances, and many more. Sometimes we see native steps but more often the dancing is the same as is found in the Broadway palaces. In general the distribution of the sexes is more even than in the dance palaces. It is at the club dances that one finds the mature man and woman and also the very young boys and girls who come under the chaperonage of parents.

Of the cases of rented halls, phrases such as these occur in the reports: "There were about 150 present, most of whom represented groups of friends well known to each other." "There were practically no 'foreigners' present." "They form a closed clique as far as the average outsider is concerned." "Both the old and young participated." "While cordial friendship was everywhere present there was an agreeable lack of wanton familiarity." "Many people in the crowd were well acquainted."

Any generalization concerning dance halls is misleading unless the type is designated; they are not all an answer to the same need; some are answers, some compensations. They are results rather than causes, pictures of social conditions rather than social forces. The much expressed fear of their power seems to dim in the light of this expression of agreement between the investigators: "One feels little doubt after much observation that the regular patron of the dance hall is bored. Large numbers admit without hesitation that they are bored, but say that as nothing else in the way of amusement is to be found easily, they come to the dance hall."

## SCHOOL CENTER HISTORY IN CHICAGO

### SOME BEGINNINGS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

CLARENCE ARTHUR PERRY

ONE STEP in the understanding of a social movement is studying and isolating the activities of certain individuals whom we call its "leaders." The isolation of an individual's activity is, however, an extremely difficult matter, as Miss Follett has so well emphasized in her new book "Creative Experience." The main reason for this difficulty is that the leader's actions are always resultants of his own urges and his followers' effects upon him. Another reason why we often cannot get at them lies in the impersonal and collective character of the records of a movement. For example, a full file of THE COMMUNITY CENTER is a record of events in which Edward L. Burchard has played an eminently leading part but that fact does not stand out from its printed pages. It is too early to write the history of the school community cen-

ter movement or to attempt any appraisals of its leaders, but it is safe to assert that when the roll is finally made up Burchard's name will have a prominent place upon it. It is fortunate therefore for us, who want to understand this movement, that in an unguarded moment he did allow himself to stand somewhat revealingly in the glare of publicity and permit us to catch glimpses of him in action.

The following passages have been taken from the proceedings of the January 1919 meeting in Chicago of the National University Extension Association. One of the topics was "Community Center Work," and there was rather a lively discussion as to what agencies were best qualified to take the initiative in this field and in what institutions community affairs had best be held. Churches, commercial club rooms and other non-



educational places were proposed. The situation was a challenge to the man who believed in the "wider use" function of the public school, and in responding to it Mr. Burchard revealed some interesting things about himself. Here we see the influence of Hull House upon his own work as well as the relation of the social settlement generally to the school center. The excerpts are from the stenographic report of his impromptu remarks.

#### THE SETTLEMENT INFLUENCE

Twenty-eight years ago, like many other college men, I engaged in social settlement work in Chicago. It was in its romantic day at that time. We had heard of the doings of the University Extension movement in London, and elsewhere in England, and it had got into the books. Working in the slums of London, it had captured the college imagination. Enthusiasm for education as a means of uplift ran high at that time. At the first educational settlement, started over on Halsted Street in 1888, there were extension classes devoted to such varied subjects as Latin, art, and dancing. We put on exhibitions of pictures there were gathered from well-to-do homes of the city. I had to sleep with those pictures and take care of them. I used to carry placards up and down the street, and into crowded saloons to get people into those classes. But soon the leaders of the settlement found that their work was keyed too high. Those men did not care about art. They did not attend our college classes. There were a few selected people who came to them. But dancing, Christmas presents, etc., could not compete with Johnny Powers, who was giving out turkeys, and getting the votes of the people. That was his line of educational approach. The settlement soon found that it had to put these things on a recreational basis in order to maintain its educational and its uplift endeavors.

The next passage is a significant bit about the origin of the famous Chicago field houses and their relation to the community center movement. It shows quite clearly the difficulties encountered by an out-door play institution when it attempts to provide the proper *milieu* for the complicated indoor activities to which people devote their leisure.

#### FIELD HOUSES AS COMMUNITY CENTERS

Then Mr. Foreman, who was chairman of the South Park Commission, came down to Hull House and he saw what was going on. He noted how small playgrounds were being started with private funds, and how the whole settlement was transformed from a fancy college educational center into a recreational plan. He said, "We can beat this all to pieces," and he got a big appropriation from the city, and started a lot of field houses in the

south parks of Chicago; for example, a single house, built of concrete, cost \$300,000. You must go and see some of them, in Hamilton Park, Sherman Park, Stanford Park, and others,—in some cases placed right next to a school building. There were clubs of every kind and classes on every subject. There were domestic science classes; indoor and outdoor gymnasium classes for men and for women; children's wading pools, and great pageants. It was a tremendous movement, and it impressed the people very favorably. They came forward and voted millions for establishing those recreational centers.

But very soon it was found that there were limitations to recreational educational work just as there were to the social settlement work. The social settlement was not on a public basis. It was for privileged classes among the poor. The recreational people found that if they put on, for example, an exhibition, such as we have run through our Woman's City Club, in a park recreation center, the people would come with a festival attitude, desiring merely to look at the pretty colors, and get the gayety of the scene. There was not a serious purpose, and because of this lack of seriousness it failed. They then put in expensive branch libraries but they are not succeeding as they should. An official, a library man, told me that he would be very glad if they were taken out of the parks and put into the schools, where there is the serious purpose. I spoke to the director of one of these parks before I entered into the school system of community center work. He advised me not to consider taking up work in the park recreational system. He said, "We have only a very fleeting touch with people. They come in by the score, and we have no record of them. They are here today and tomorrow they are gone."

One of the most successful high school centers that ever came to my knowledge was that of the Harrison Technical High School which Mr. Burchard developed. He does not tell us much about his methods, but here and there you get a glimpse. The large audiences, the continuous classes, and the exhibits are all evidences of the success of *his* efforts. He does not call attention to his part, but that is the significant fact for the student of community activity. Someone had to organize those programs and attend to the details which made them enjoyable occasions. Someone had to bring the committees together and help them organize and then follow them up afterwards. The community secretary was the one who coördinated and steered the community efforts.

#### A PIONEER HIGH SCHOOL CENTER

The Harrison High School, on the southwest side of Chicago, in the midst of a Bohemian, Polish, Swedish and German population, was established three or four

years ago, with a million-dollar plant, as an evening school and a day school. The day-school classes run up to about 2,000 young people, drawn from about twenty grade schools all around it, in direct relation to this high school. The whole system fits together. The children go up to the high school constantly to see what the plant is like, and there are actions and reactions between them. The evening school has about 2,000 men and women attending four nights in the week. I forget the exact number of weeks in the school year, but I think it is about twenty. This school is a workshop of democracy. It is the elaborating point of democracy. You should look at that wonderful plant of an evening. I used to live opposite it. I was community secretary there. I was only a volunteer community secretary, but officially considered a member of the staff of Mr. Morse, the principal. It was wonderful to see that whole great building lighted up, and the people pouring in from every part of the district, Bohemians, Poles, and Germans, from the factories where they had been working hard during the day, coming there to try to learn at the lathes, in the domestic science rooms, and in the one hundred and one different classes maintained there,—all supported by the school board. It was a revelation, and it made me optimistic for democracy in spite of the failure of American city life. It made me optimistic for the future. But that was the formal side, for adults.

At the outset we decided to put on a public health exhibition. We brought from all parts of Chicago, different exhibits, including the tuberculosis institute exhibit, the Women's City Club exhibit, the exhibit of the Department of Health; and then, by the permission of the principal, we secured the coöperation of the teachers of the day school, so that half a dozen different classes assisted us in preparing an interpretation of the public health exhibit. They went out with their cameras, and they went down-town and studied the records of the Health Department, and the McCormick Foundation, and a dozen other different agencies, and brought us back all this collected information, and visualized it on maps, spot maps, photographs, etc., so as to portray to those Bohemians, Poles, Germans, and others the health facts about their own immediate neighborhood. The children made everything for this section of the exhibit. It was put up in connection with the other exhibits, and about 33,000 people viewed it the few days it was open. One night there were 4,000 people outside the building trying to get in, and unable to do so because it was already filled with 4,000 people inside.

The reaction of the children on the educational side was wonderful. Those children told me that they had learned more in preparing for a dynamic purpose like that, educationally than they had learned in weeks of

formal study. One boy, who was interpreting into Bohemian so that when the Bohemians went through they would understand, told me that he had learned more about Bohemian in two weeks than he had in the previous two months of study.

The result, as might be foreseen, was that there was an interaction there between the 2,000 day-school pupils and the 2,000 evening-school pupils and the thousands who came to our other exhibitions and entertainments that we put on during the rest of the year at regular bi-weekly intervals. We reached out to all of the groups in the neighborhood,—the musical organizations, the labor organizations, the Commercial Club, the Business Men's Associations. We got them all into the schoolhouse and formed a community council, and that community council, with those coöperating groups, formed another series of educational groups,—self-educating groups, I will say. You have first the children, being used to react educationally on the neighborhood. Then you have the neighborhood coming in through its different groups, and legislating on the outside on such questions as how to clean up in their immediate neighborhood, how to reduce tuberculosis, and how to improve in various other ways. Now I call that an ultimate educational Extension unit that cannot be beaten.

Such groupings, such discussions, and coöperative undertakings as Mr. Burchard describes are the processes of modern democratic civilization. The ability to act as a member of a group has become an indispensable part of a successful person's education. Individuals possessed of a common cause who do not "know the ropes" of group action are seriously handicapped in advancing their common ends.

Given leaders of Mr. Burchard's ability and energy, every high school in the land could be made to yield increased educational results for all the people. To secure such leaders requires only the approval and the appropriations of the taxpayers. The increased drain on the private purse would be inappreciable. Why do the people refuse to ask this service from their public education systems? Why, apparently, do the school authorities themselves hesitate to ask for the means to perform this extended service? These are some of the problems for the promoters of school centers.



MEANING OF THE COMMUNITY CENTER MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

MRS. GENEVIEVE B. EARLE

IN THIS Community Center movement as so distinctly carried out by you, I see five factors of very great significance, which I shall outline and at the same time amplify:

1. It gives new value to small homogeneous neighborhoods and finds for the average citizen a useful and happy place among his neighbors, people he knows, and knowing, likes—to work with, to play with, and to do his share in the common job of making this a better city to live in.

2. It gives back to the average citizen the realization that "he counts"—that he counts as much as the better known citizen of wider influence. He also realizes that the task of being a good Brooklynite—a good American—is relatively simple, interesting and even thrilling, if he trains himself through his day by day Community Center activities for intelligent and alert citizenship.

3. It has taken the mystery out of city government and has shown that what the politicians like to have the voter believe as intricate, complex and difficult, is really a series of simple steps in getting things done for ourselves through our various public agencies which are designed for our own use and benefit.

4. It places the responsibility for good govern-

ment back where it belongs—on the individual citizen—who no longer "lets George do it." His interest in his community needs has quickened, he has learned how to make his needs known, and he knows now how to go about getting it for himself; subways, adequate schools, more playgrounds, libraries, cleaner streets, better police and fire protection, etc. Hitherto, because of our vast area and population, the average citizen has felt remote from his city government and has become discouraged, apathetic and ineffectual. But the Community Center idea gives to each member a new faith that multiplying himself by the strength of his neighbors, he can work directly with his city officials for anything he considers to be the best interest of his neighborhood and his city.

5. It is a coöperative adventure in democracy, in which we express our community life, encourage the things that add richness and color to our living, gay things as well as serious things, in which we experiment for ourselves, make our own mistakes, or own successes without outside interference. The value of this Community Center idea is that it is not handed to us by outsiders or experts or politicians, but is developed by ourselves in each community, according to our own local needs, and that it is flexible enough to be different, if necessary, in each community. An eminent writer has said, "The problem of politics is to adjust the relations of human beings in such a way that each may have as much good in his existence as possible." This, then, is our challenge. Are we ready for it?

<sup>1</sup> The Brooklyn's People's Institute for a dozen or more years past has been helping communities in different parts of Brooklyn, which is more community minded than many large cities, to formulate their own neighborhood organization. These groups meet in the public schools and have no restrictions of race, creed or political affiliation. There are twelve of these now, many of which have existed for several years. About a year ago they federated under the name of Brooklyn Federation of Community Centers. At a recent meeting they were addressed by Mrs. Earle, president of the People's Institute, who expressed her ideal of the movement in the following words.

## GUIDES TO READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Jesse F. Steiner presents in the November-December *Journal of Applied Sociology* a further aspect of the community problems he has been recently attacking in these columns. His "Critique of the Community Movement" brings three indictments against the modern conception of social control and the host of welfare organizations it has brought into being. In the first place, situ-

ations are not adequately diagnosed: assuming after a glance at the more obvious symptoms that all needs are alike we hastily recommend a favorite plan or program as of universal application. Again, organization is narrowly conceived as a mere coördination of social agencies that does not deal with the deeper disorganizing forces which make progress impossible. And again, adminis-

trative devices are overemphasized to the neglect of a true understanding of the processes involved in community change and community control.

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"The Auto-Camp Community" of Los Angeles, type of a new social institution, is described by Harry B. Ansted in the same issue. Drawn to Southern California by a medley of motives, the families who make it up come from every walk of life, but are thrown by the nature of camp life into a more democratic atmosphere than is to be found among most American people. Camps have grown up largely to meet housing needs, and the problems they raise are those of municipal or private management, sanitary location, proper charges, and restrictions on length of stay.

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Play is not merely a pastime of the youngster; it is the best part of his education. No boy who lacks opportunity for play can be called delinquent; he has been cheated out of his birthright, and the responsibility falls on those adults who neglect their civic duty. Social workers need especially to be reminded of this, for many of them have scant regard for the recreational needs of their clients. So argues Eugene T. Lies rather forcefully in the leading article of the November *Playground*.

In the same number Claudia Wannamaker, detailing (in "Recreation or Re-Creation") the history of a problem boy in the playgrounds, shows how superficial most of their efforts are and how often failure might be turned to success through a study of the personality of their more difficult cases. . . . Also, Arthur Leland reports recent progress of recreation in the hitherto backward state of Rhode Island; Vera V. Barger writes entertainingly of "Chinese Girls at Play" on their native heath; and there is an instructive article on "The Design of Swimming Pools" as to their operation and sanitation by Jack J. Hinman, Jr.

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An unusual experiment in the much-needed extension of county responsibility is the adoption by Los Angeles County of a single unified system of fighting fires. With a district having about the area and population of Connecticut, a long

dry summer, about half a million automobiles, and large forest areas frequented by campers, the problem is a serious one. Efficient service has been secured by coördinating the work of forest rangers, wardens, and city departments, and by apportioning the costs among the jurisdictions in which losses occur. "A County Organized for Fire Protection," by Philip P. Sharples, appears in the *American City Magazine* for November.

\* \* \*

"Continuous City Planning" is an ideal toward which large and small municipalities should move, says Jacob L. Crane, Jr., in the same issue. consultant on an annual fee to develop and adapt It can be made feasible by retaining the original his scheme by ensuring that the city engineer, who administers it, have some definite instruction in planning, and by inserting in the city budget provision for a technical staff that shall do the work well. . . . On a smaller scale the improvement of a single street in Helena, Arkansas, has been carried out by a local association of householders whose plan, as described on page 434 of the same magazine, enumerated fourteen points to be observed in keeping the street clean and making it beautiful. The success of the effort has led to the formation of several similar associations and a decided increase in general civic pride.

\* \* \*

A striking though unfortunately only a brief experiment in the making of "A Community Newspaper" is described at first hand by Robert Louis Burgess in the *Survey* for November 15. As editor of the San José (California) *News* he invited every important opinion-group in the city to elect an associate editor, all of whom for several months represented their constituents on the editorial page with only the slightest supervision by the regular management. The plan proved acceptable to both subscribers and advertisers, and gave the community to understand that the paper stood definitely for fair play and free speech to all.

The housing law in New York fixes 70% as the maximum space in any plot that may be covered with a tenement house. But at "Sunnyside—An Experiment in City Housing," as sketched



in the same issue, a private company has built a block of residences, to be sold on time, which occupy only 30% of their grounds, the remainder being used for gardens, tennis courts, and playgrounds. The investment has proved a profitable one, and may perhaps mark the beginning of a new era in municipal housing. Drawings of the block and interior court accompany the article.

\* \* \*

The library has always considered itself an educational institution that supplemented and

carried further the work of the school. Our recent concern over adult education finds it already in the field, well equipped by means of reading courses, rooms for public discussion, Americanization classes, collections of lantern slides and pictures, and books for the blind to serve that cause. The *Library Journal* carries in its issue for November 1 a symposium on "The Public Library and Adult Education," in which thirteen prominent librarians, headed by Arthur E. Bostwick of St. Louis, tell what their institutions are now doing and what extensions of the work are likely in the future.

## Church and Religion

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE CHURCH: II

JOHN FRANCIS O'BRIEN

#### THE PREACHER AND POLITICS

**H**ENRY Ward Beecher represented church interest in politics long before 1875. Before, during and after the Civil War, he entered into discussions of local and national politics from the pulpit and platform.<sup>1</sup> He and Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, another New York clergyman, were most influential in the Tweed Ring exposure of 1871-2. The corruption in Grant's administration aroused vigorous protests from the clergy. During the third term agitation for Grant, many clergymen, particularly Methodist, were roundly condemned for their advocacy of a third term. In the election of 1884, many, perhaps misguided, clergymen incurred much criticism by speaking for Blaine, a part of which was the famous Rev. Burchard, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" epigram. Much hostility was shown toward Beecher for his support of Cleveland, while Rev. R. T. Jones of Ithaca, N. Y., was arrested on a trumped-up charge because he spoke and voted for Cleveland.

Unfortunately for the rising movement toward political righteousness, the chaplain of the House in 1895-6 succumbed to the jingoism then prevalent concerning the Venezuela affair and thereby brought much discredit upon the capacity of the clerical profession to act sanely in such a crisis. But counteracting this tendency was the very active criticism of both "war talk" and President Cleveland by many members of the profession. Rather unfortunately for such a hopeful start was the almost complete capitulation of the clergy in the Spanish American War. Much censure of this course of action was heard from

the laity. Almost disastrously indicative was the attitude of Rev. F. W. Farrar, one of the most prominent Divines in the Episcopal church. He defended imperialism and war as a Christian act against evil and wickedness and went on to prove his point by citing the exemplary Christian character of such men as the Duke of Wellington and General Gordon.

Although the activity of clergymen in national politics as seen in some of the examples quoted was rather disastrous and the clergy earned much deserved opprobrium therefrom, it was in the sphere of local municipal affairs that the most important and best work was done.

The Tweed Ring exposures have been mentioned earlier. Rev. Henry C. Potter and Rev. R. Heben Newton of New York were active in local affairs and induced other clergymen to join in the good work. Thus, besides the activity of individuals, ministers organized as "Ministerial Unions" or "Associations" condemned local corruption and participated in reform movements. For example, the Ministerial Union of Milwaukee in 1891-2 waged a war on selling liquor to minors, while the Central North Chicago Ministerial Association worked for street cleaning reform. Cardinal Gibbons, to the surprise of many and in the face of precedent to the contrary, although not active in local politics, voted, and through his influence and example led many Catholics to participate in local and state civic affairs, celebrations and social projects. Many ministers criticized the use of money in elections.

The most important single example of the work of ministers in local and state politics is seen in the efforts of Rev. Washington Gladden. Largely through his activity the dates of state and national

<sup>1</sup> Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher*.



elections in Ohio were made the same.<sup>2</sup> In Columbus, he advocated the so-called "Low" or "Brooklyn" plan of city organization as against the chaotic and antiquated system then in use. The idea of this plan was concentration rather than diffusion of executive responsibility in local government. Realizing the need of municipal reform, at the suggestion of the editor of the *Century*, he wrote his famous article "The Cosmopolis City Club," in 1893. These articles were imaginary expositions of what could be done by local informal organizations meeting to discuss abuses in the political system and their possible remedies. It is significant to note the timeliness of these articles for, following their suggestion, many such clubs were formed throughout the country until in 1895, they were federated into a national organization. Not content with argument and external effort, Rev. Gladden participated directly in local government and in 1900 he was elected councilor in the Columbus Board of Aldermen.

### III. THE CHURCH AND THE POOR—CAPITAL AND LABOR

The problem of the relation of the church to the poor has always been a perplexing one. Early in this period, such a difficulty was intensified not only by the growing gap between class divisions but also by the alarming increase in poverty and social misery which accompanied the urbanization and industrialization of American society. The problem was further complicated by the fact that wealthy men supported the churches.

During the eighties and continuing throughout the rest of the century an active program of propaganda was carried out for the retention of the poor within the ranks of the church. It was alleged, and not without some degree of truth, that this class has been alienated by lack of attention devoted to the needs of its members and through their inability to withstand the costs of supporting the new expensive church establishments. Critics pointed out that the practice of seeking wealthy converts was simply "religious snobbery." Bishop B. J. McQuaid, a Catholic, maintained that one of the great weaknesses of the Protestant system was that it failed to take care of the problem of the poor. It was asserted

that "the line of severance between our American Protestant churches and the working classes has become sharply marked,"<sup>3</sup> and that "The whole fabric of American Protestantism is inwrought with the notion that class distinctions must exist, must be intensified in fact, in the houses it erects to the worship of a Divine Being who is supposed to care nothing for such distinctions and whose Son, when on earth, consorted with fishermen and 'the lower classes' . . ."<sup>4</sup> This lack of attention to the poor was shown to spring from two causes. On the one hand, it was asserted that the very extravagance of the clergy and church excluded the poor from the so-called "fashionable" churches; and, on the other, that clergymen were socially more naturally allied with the wealthy and that, since churches were indebted to the prosperous group, excessive attention was devoted to their interests.

It must not be supposed, however, that nothing was done to remedy this situation. The particular field in which the ministers' more serious effort was directed was that of the relation between the two great groups—capital and labor.

One of the earliest, ablest and most successful churchmen in the capital and labor discussion was Rev. Washington Gladden. He noted the growing disparity between the two social classes and the ever-accelerating inequality in the distribution of wealth caused by the economic practice of the day. He comprehended the injustice wrought by unlimited competition as well as the social misery and discontent emanating therefrom. To him, the function of the clergyman was to point out the un-Christianity of such ruthlessness in business and to work consciously for its adjustment. "The Christian moralist is, therefore, bound to admonish the Christian employer that the wage system, when it rests on competition as its sole basis, is anti-social and anti-Christian. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' is the Christian law, and he must find some way of incorporating that law into the organization of labor. It must be something more than an ideal; it must find expression in the industrial scheme."<sup>5</sup> Such was the burden of Gladden's criticism and theory.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial, *Nation*, Vol. 40, (April 2, 1885), pp. 274-275.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, Oscar Fay, "Aristocratic Drift of American Protestantism," *No. Am. Rev.*, Vol. 142, (February, 1886), pp. 194-199.

<sup>5</sup> Gladden, Washington, "Christianity and Wealth," *Century*, Vol. 28, (October, 1884), pp. 903-911.

<sup>3</sup> Gladden, *Recollections*.

The practicable solution of the problem, he maintained was not difficult and "quite within the power of the Christian employer. All he has to do is to admit his laborers to an *industrial partnership* with himself by giving them a *fixed share of the profits of production*, to be divided among them, in proportion to their earnings at the end of the year."

But Gladden's efforts, however considerable in the advocacy of such an idea, were not confined to mere rhetoric. Early in his ministry in Springfield, Mass., he spoke before unemployed laborers, urging them to accept any employment offered. On the following Sunday, in his own church, he asked his parishioners to employ as many of these men as possible with the result that many of them were temporarily relieved. The Hocking Valley strike between miners and operators over wages and unionization found Gladden again in the struggle. He had long expressed his belief in the right and necessity of labor unions and openly preached the idea before his congregation which included two vice-presidents, the general manager and the treasurer of the Hocking Valley Company. Again, in 1886, when a strike was raging in Cleveland, Gladden, addressed a group of laborers and employers showing that if industrialism meant war, then labor had the right to organize for war, but further said that the part of peace on both sides was the more desirable, reasonable, Christian and civilized. The same address was repeated before an employing and a laboring group in Boston a week later with warm receptions. When the Ohio State Association of Congregationalists formed a committee to investigate laboring conditions in the state, Gladden was made chairman. Conferences dealing with the labor situation were held in which both employers and labor representatives participated.

Nor was Washington Gladden alone in his interest in the labor problem. The Second Annual Congregation of Protestant Episcopal churches in their meeting at Philadelphia on November 9, 1875, had a number of papers on the general topic of "Ministrations of the Church to the Working Classes." At the Cincinnati Church Congress in 1878 a Rev. Dr. Hewitt read a paper on "The Mutual Relations between Capital and Labor." Rev. R. Heber Newton of New York

preached on the labor problem. Many clergymen were devoted enemies of the "sweating system," and one Boston minister succeeded in arousing enough interest in the problem to have a Congressional investigation initiated. The Methodist ministers of Chicago were important in the clerks' early-closing agitation of 1892. When the Homestead Riots broke out in 1892 throughout the country ministers devoted sermons both to the immediate situation and the entire problem of capital and labor. Rev. John Ireland, the Catholic bishop of St. Paul was an important factor in the settlement of two great railroad strikes in the northwest in 1894. When the Parliament of Religions met at Chicago in 1893, a great deal of attention was devoted to the industrial situations in the country and the function of the church in the question.

Thus, the work of the clergy has, in part, been indicated. Indeed, the activity of churchmen in the labor problem and the advocacy of such plans as Washington Gladden's proposed profit-sharing project and Rev. Henry C. Peters' proposal that the wealthy found trade schools and his other mild leanings toward Christian Socialism aroused some suspicion of "socialistic" sympathies among the clergy. The fact that ministers were uniting and preaching about the matter lent color to such misgivings. The introduction of the study of sociology into seminaries, although praised by the *Nation*, may have had some influence here.<sup>6</sup>

Writers hastened to disabuse men's minds of such confusion. Henry Van Dyke maintained that much quoting the Bible and referring to early Christian history was being done to establish the fact that Christianity and communism were similar both in purpose and technique. He asserted that a fundamental difference existed between the two systems. The Bible urged one to give bread to one's neighbor, communism urged the neighbor to take the bread—herein lay the difference. Lyman Abbott, quoting James Russell Lowell, said, "Socialism means, or wishes to mean, coöperation and community of interests, sympathy, the giving to the hands not so large a share as to the brains, but a larger share than hitherto in the wealth they must combine to produce—means, in short, the practical application

<sup>6</sup> Anon., "Sociology and the Church," *Nation*, Vol. 53, (August 13, 1891), p. 114.



of Christianity to life and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction. . . .

This is what Christianity means, or wishes to mean." But the "purest Christianity" and the "purest Socialism," while they shade off into one another, differ in that, first, Socialism deals with the remedy of the social organism while Christianity deals with man; second, Socialism and philanthropy aim to change the environment while Christianity aims to change character; third, Socialism deals with lower physical needs first, then the higher needs, while Christianity aims at reforming the mind and the heart and then attending to the needs of the body.<sup>7</sup> Washington Gladden was "never able to regard this possibility [Socialism] with enthusiasm, and felt that only with much more popular education could the socialistic experiment be tried with any hope of success."

The Catholic Church, since it represented the greatest proportion, and perhaps number, of the working class in America, was quite naturally concerned with the labor problem. As a matter of fact, at least two great controversies of serious character occurred in the American church during the period over the relation which the church should bear to labor, labor organizations, economic theory of capitalism, etc.

The first great difficulty centered around the question of the Church's attitude toward the Knights of Labor about the year 1886. This problem was complicated by the fact that, on the one hand, the Knights were a "secret" organization and had a slight tinge of socialism, both of which characteristics were roundly condemned by the church, and, on the other, it was considered a desertion of the poor and alliance with the rich to condemn a movement aimed to help the lower classes. After conferences with President Cleveland and Terence V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights, Cardinal Gibbons decided to call a meeting of the American Archbishops to ascertain what the Church's attitude should be toward the organization. Powderly testified before the council of Archbishops, informing them of the nature of the organization, the reasons for and harmlessness of its secrecy and the purposes for which the Knights strove.

But since the Council's decision was not unanimous, the case was carried to Rome. Fortified by his opinion that the Church would be harming labor by condemnation of the Knights, his conviction of the usefulness of the group and his correspondence with Cardinal Manning in England, Cardinal Gibbons worked against condemnation of the order in Rome. Not only was his action resisted by the conservative Catholic clergymen at home and abroad, his policy termed radical and socialistic, but the very fact that the Knights had been condemned in Canada made Gibbons' work more difficult. It was very largely through his efforts that Pope Leo sustained his opinion.

A much more serious controversy arose at practically the same time over Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1899, and Rev. Edward McGlynn's connection with both the economic doctrine of the single tax and George himself.

In 1886, when George was a candidate for Mayor of New York, Rev. Dr. McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church, the largest parish in the New York Diocese, was one of the founders of the Anti-Poverty Society, defenders of the George doctrines. Another Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Richard L. Burtzell, pastor of the Church of the Epiphany, also espoused the Georgian economics and politics. In the agitation of the year, appeal was made to Archbishop Corrigan of New York as to the attitude of the Church in the matter. He promptly condemned George's book, appealed to Rome to have it put on the Index, and rebuked McGlynn and Burtzell. Archbishop Corrigan felt that the book was a denial of the rights of property long held by the Church while Cardinal Gibbons thought it was not. Then ensued a struggle between the two strongest Catholic ecclesiastics in America, each attempting to have his view prevail at Rome. Gibbons' idea was finally sustained and *Progress and Poverty* was not condemned by the Church.

In the meantime, the problem was further complicated by Dr. McGlynn's conduct and Archbishop Corrigan's action regarding it. When Dr. McGlynn supported George's candidacy and views, the Archbishop forbade the priest to attend any public meeting in behalf of George and, since McGlynn refused to obey, suspended him from

<sup>7</sup> Abbott, Lyan, "Christianity and Socialism," *No. Am. Rev.*, Vol. 148, (April, 1884), pp. 446-453.

the Church and ordered him to Rome to make his submission to the Pope. When McGlynn neglected to go, he was excommunicated. Cardinal Gibbons felt that "These public utterances of Dr. McGlynn will do no good either to himself or to religion," deplored the whole incident, refused to have anything to do with McGlynn and hoped "with God's grace, that the storm will soon spend itself . . ."<sup>7a</sup>

Such a controversy was bound to excite a good deal of public comment. The *Nation* maintained that Dr. McGlynn should have gone to Rome in answer to the Papal summons, noted that his formal excommunication had "sobered some of his followers, but not himself," deprecated the newspaper notion that a great schism would be caused in the Church, and maintained that "Dr. McGlynn has been treated with great forbearance and kindness, and that he fully deserves the discipline to which he has been subjected." After his excommunication the support which Dr. McGlynn had received, especially from Catholics fell off. When Archbishop Francis Satolli, Apostolic Delegate to the United States came to America in 1892, Dr. McGlynn was ready to repent; his and Dr. Bursell's excommunications were relieved and they were restored as Roman Catholic priests.

On May 15, 1891, Pope Leo XIII set forth his ideas upon labor in the famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. Pointing out that "some remedy must be found quickly for the misery and wretchedness caused by the new economic situation, the Pope defended the dignity of labor, maintained that only the assistance of religion could settle the problem and roundly condemned socialism. Cardinal Gibbons thought this document "settled forever . . . the principles of economics which are alone consonant with the Gospel," and no doubt many Catholics took the document very seriously. Adverse comment affirmed that little attention had been or would be excited by the pronouncement because there was no new political or economic view in it; the clergy were unable to see how a study of economics could help in the Catholic pulpit, and, in the American democracy at least, the ruling forces didn't take Papal encyclicals very seriously any-

way.<sup>8</sup> Another critic stated, " . . . one is chiefly struck by his [the Pope's] earnest desire for the welfare of mankind, his clear recognition of the existence of a grave social problem, and the singular want of logic which he exhibits in his attempt to solve it." The writer maintains, "Labor needs not the protecting arm of the Church but equal opportunity."<sup>9</sup>

#### IV. THE CHURCH AND THE FAMILY

The alarming spread of divorce and the alleged disintegration of family life accompanying the urbanization of the country aroused no little church comment.

The monogamous family found an able champion in Rev. Washington Gladden. He pointed out that the rising cost of living, decay of home life in the cities, traveling work of fathers and lack of respect for the old family traditions made the ancient American family seem a thing of the past. He believed that monogamy had survived the test of the centuries because it deserved to and that, "Any loss of sacredness and permanence suffered by the monogamous family is, . . . a social calamity." The restoration of home life he deemed the duty of the hour and since it was a sacred institution, the only way to rehabilitate it was to "make the home the temple of pure and undefiled religion."

Other writers pleaded for the same preservation of the family. "Symposiums" appeared in the *North American Review* about the matter. Cardinal Gibbons and Rev. Henry C. Potter, the Episcopalian bishop of New York maintained that divorce was wrong while Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll upheld the practice.

Church congresses, in attempts to stem the growing number of divorces passed resolutions against the indiscriminate giving of divorces and attempted to prevent the decay of family life by church regulations operative upon their members. For instance, the Methodist General Conference (South) at Richmond, Va., in 1886 established the doctrine that, "No minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, knowingly, upon due inquiry, shall solemnize the marriage of any person who has a divorced wife or husband still

<sup>7a</sup> Anon., "The Pope and the Poor," *Nation*, Vol. 54, (January 7, 1892), pp. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> Preston, Thomas B., "Pope Leo on Labor," *Arena*, Vol. 4, (September, 1891), pp. 459-567.

<sup>9a</sup> See Will, Allen Sinclair, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, Vol. I.



living; provided this inhibition shall not apply to the innocent Party to a divorce granted for Scriptural cause, or to parties once divorced seeking to be remarried.

When Utah was seeking to be admitted to the Union prior to 1894, indignation meetings were held in various parts of the country denouncing the practice of polygamy, and the Methodist General Conference at Omaha, Nebraska, May 2, 1892, passed a resolution condemning the polygamous system.

#### V. THE CHURCH AND TEMPERANCE

The churches of America have been very active in the temperance movement. One of the first manifestations of such an interest is seen in the formation of secular temperance societies. The Congregational Total Abstinence Society was formed in 1874 and the Baptists and Methodists formed similar organizations at about the same time. A Protestant-Episcopal society known as the Church Temperance Society was founded in 1881. Affiliated with it was a Woman's Auxiliary and a young men's Legion. The Catholic Total Abstinence Union was formed in Baltimore in 1872. All these organizations if not enjoining total abstinence, at least advised and urged temperance. The Salvation Army, introduced to America in 1880, carried the work on among the lower classes.

Further pressure was brought to bear against uncontrolled drinking and liquor manufacturing and selling by the denominations themselves in council. Various assemblies and meetings throughout the entire twenty-five years passed resolutions against intemperance. The Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists were particularly active in their denunciation. The Methodist Church (South) at the General Conference of 1882 at Nashville applied the rules for dealing with "imprudent and improper conduct" upon members of the denomination guilty of drinking spiritous liquors. Manufacturers and sellers of intoxicants were to be proceeded against under the same rule. These offences were classified as much more serious in 1886 when the General Conference established that they should be considered "immoralities." The same conference declared that the church would continue to agitate for prohibition. Before 1885 the Unitarian

denomination had organized clubs to combat the drink evil while the Universalists in their General Convention of October 19, 1887 at New York "reasserted in favor of total abstinence."

Besides the work of the Catholic Total Abstinence Unions, the activity of Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn., and Bishop John A. Watterson of Columbus, Ohio, was a powerful expression of Catholic condemnation of intemperance. In 1893, Bishop Watterson forbade liquor dealers to hold office or even secure membership in Catholic associations. The Papal Apostolic Delegate at Washington, Mgr. Francis Satolli, sustained the edict for the Columbus diocese. Archbishop Ireland proclaimed that although the decision applied locally and did not deny saloon-keepers the sacraments, nor did define moderate drinking as a sin, yet it showed that the Catholic Church was opposed to the saloon. The *Nation* pointed out that enforcing this decision was a much more serious matter because of the great power and influence wielded in local church communities by saloon-keepers. Tammany Hall in 1895 incurred the enmity of the Abstinence Unions and the Church with its brazen defence of Sunday opening in New York. Archbishop Ryan of the diocese was violently opposed to the Tammany defence and Sunday opening in general.

#### VI. SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

The problem of the proper observance of the commandment, "Thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day" has always been a somewhat difficult one. Although the history of the change in Sunday observance cannot strictly be called a phase of the development of the socialization of the church as an institution, yet, in view of the actual changes occurring, it may be safe to maintain that since the Sabbath like the church itself was socialized, the question can well be discussed here.

The causes of such a change in the old American blue day were many and complex, but a few of the most significant ones might be mentioned. As is well known, the enormous growth in population of the United States in this period is, to a large extent, attributable to immigration. The fact that most of the foreign stocks carried the "European" or free Sunday with them as a social institution along with their other liberal customs is indeed significant. It must further be noted that

many of these immigrants, especially the Irish, were Catholics and the Catholic Church has always held the liberal view that after the short religious observance of the morning is over, the rest of the day may be devoted to harmless social pursuits. In the same connection, the all-pervading influence of the changed industrial and social conditions of American life must again be considered. The urban workman, after a week of arduous toil, could not be expected to spend his Sunday in his squalid tenement poring over religious tracts; he and his family needed escape and relief from the cares of the week and Sunday was the only day when recreation could be secured. Then, too, the old rigid Puritan orthodoxy was breaking down and it was but natural that such an inhibitory custom as the blue Sunday should go too.

As early as 1880 criticism of the prevailing Sunday was heard. James Freeman Clarke asserted that there was no evidence for the "irrational" Sunday in the Bible, that the day should be one of rest which could be furnished by light refreshing amusements. The *Nation* in its editorial columns advocated Sunday concerts in public parks and, in 1891, when the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum decided to open that institution on Sunday in response to a long petition, commended the action and was gratified with its results. The dangers of unregulated freedom were noted. Elizabeth Cady Stanton advised the provision of reading rooms and moral theatres for boys to avoid the temptations of hanging around corners. Throughout the entire discussion a recognition of the human character of Sunday as a day was manifest. Even people who felt that amusements as such were rather under the pale and that the religious character of the day was no justification for rigid suppression appreciated the need of a day of rest for human needs. For example; "Simply as a protection to religion, Sunday laws are not justifiable. As necessary to enable a large class of people to rest according to the dictates of their conscience, they are more defensible."

The greatest expression of opinion over the whole question of Sunday observance came in 1891 and following when the directors of the World's Fair at Chicago considered the advisability of opening the Fair on Sunday.

The *Nation*, commented on the proposal, "The excellent gentlemen who made their arguments against Sunday opening before the directors of the World's Fair last Thursday, are probably aware that they spoke for a sentiment and a generation that have passed away." The old Sunday laws, it stated, were obsolete and unenforced. The directors refused to open the Fair and a storm of rhetoric on the decision broke out. Many articles appeared in the public prints, practically all of which advocating opening. In the discussion, the whole question of Sunday observance was thoroughly aired.

The arguments for opening the Fair and for "liberal," "rational" observance can be summarized under four heads. First, there was no sanction in the Bible for any suppression of all human activity of a refined sort on Sunday; second, Jesus himself maintained that the Sabbath was for man; third, the day was designed for rest and moral recreation. But the most important and indicative reason of all can be briefly summarized, "The closing of the World's Fair would be a crime against the poor." Here lay the crux of the matter. It was pointed out that the wealthy man could see the exhibits any day he chose, but the laborer had only one day available. On the positive side of the question it was asserted that here was a constructive means of providing the workingman with the joy of appreciating the great progress of the world and the aesthetic delights of great works of art. Such activity certainly was not sin. Further, such spectacles as were within the walls of the Fair would only open and deepen religious life. Again, opening would be beneficial because it would keep men away from the saloons on Sunday. Quite cleverly, it was pointed out that the conservative churches and the liquor interests were on the same side of this question.

As a result of this agitation, relief was had. Congress limited its earlier action that the Fair should not be open on Sunday to the closing of the government exhibit. Finally, the World's Fair Directors themselves adopted a resolution allowing the gates to be open but no machinery run and allowing all nations to hold whatever religious services they desired within the grounds. The *Nation* commenting upon the results of opening asserted that most of the visitors were work-



ingmen and the second Sunday " . . . was like the first in its essential features, and particularly in the quietness and sobriety of the visitors." The results, however, were disappointing to both sides. Only one-half admission was charged because the exhibition was reduced and thus the crowd was small and the receipts low. But, on the other hand, there was no "moral breakdown," so the enemies of Sunday opening were discomfited. The question was finally settled by the Directors when they closed the Fair Sundays simply because it didn't pay. The *Nation* noted, "As the Sunday closing now rests upon rational grounds, the dispute will cease."

And indeed the whole controversy did. The attention devoted to the question from 1893 to the end of the century in the public prints is negligible.

Such a movement as I have attempted to analyze was not without its critics. The advocates of a third term for Grant, the supporters of Conkling and the bellicose clergy in Cleveland's administration received and perhaps deserved hearty condemnation. Perhaps the popular esti-

mate of the clergy had "gone down" and the attempt to make a clergyman "a Solomon when he should be a Christ" was a mistaken notion, but such criticism was inevitable when the minister stepped from his sidereal pedestal into a world of complicated social problems. Then, too, with the new sociology courses, parish problems, services of a social nature calling for the administration of large sums of money, the minister was bound to become a man of the world, rather than a cloistered scholar. And men of the world retain little of the popular awe of the divine expounder who retreats to the veil of metaphysics.

But in spite of the criticism hurled against individual ministers and the reaction against particular fields for new church activity, it seems that the spectacle of the churches participating in the problems of the day, attending the work of the hour, seeking to heal society's wounds, to create a new morality for the conduct of business and political affairs is one of the most profound revolutions that ever occurred in the history of religion.

## CONFERENCE VIEWPOINT ON RELIGION IN COUNTRY LIFE

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

RELIGION in Country Life was the subject discussed by the American Country Life Association at the recent conference held at Columbus, Ohio. Sectional conferences on the Rural Church, Religion in Country Life, and so on, have been rather common, but this was the first time in the history of our country that a national meeting has been held to discuss this important subject. This brief article is an attempt to give, not an account of the conference itself, but of the conference viewpoint on religion in country life, or more plainly, the country church.

The conference opened, not with prayer, but with the singing of some jazz songs. It was not until about the third day that it was determined to appeal in prayer for aid in solving the problems of the country church!

### THE SITUATION

The first part of the conference was devoted to diagnosing the patient, to finding out what is wrong with the country church. It was agreed that before remedies could be applied, it would be necessary to find out the diseases from which the patient was suffering. And let it be said here that it was a terribly sick patient that the American Country Life Association was dealing with, at least such was the opinion of the conference.

The outstanding fact, the fact upon which everyone was agreed, was that the country church today does not serve the needs of modern rural America. The declining influence of the country church is due to its failure to serve the needs of rural people. Because the churches are failing to serve the needs of the people, the people are losing interest in the churches.

The following is a summary of situations found to exist in country churches as developed at the conference.

1. A good community in which things as a whole are going well. Honest, trustworthy people. Four churches, two or more declining, but one fairly good. Not enough money or sense of stewardship to support them all. Churches seem to have fallen behind the pace of the coöperative community spirit represented in grange, consolidated schools, etc. The young people seek their social life outside of the church. Business activities, hauling milk, etc., interfere with the church schedule of meetings.

2. An excellent community in which some people are getting their spiritual values, enthusiasms, and social vision in organizations outside of the church. Organized religion is conservative and unable to measure up to the spiritual quality of the community.

3. A community in which the church fails to evaluate, set, and interpret economic goals. Coöperative marketing association sets profit as its sole aim, and ignores social and ethical values. The church does not enter in.

4. Denominational churches in this community are preserved because of local denominational loyalties and prejudices, or by means of overhead pressure and subsidies. Decisions as to policy are voted in far away conferences and conventions. Preachers who want to stay are led by overhead forces to move elsewhere.

The situation is controlled by officialdom through "missionary money." The local minister is backed by the overheads because he makes the denomination dominant. The community is exploited for the sake of the denomination.

5. Local denominational loyalties develop dissension and hatred in the community. There is a lack of community pride on the part of the churches, and an unwillingness to see things from other than a denominational point of view. There is no program based upon community needs. The young people get the denominational divisions and jealousies rather than real Christianity or even ethical ideas.

In some situations a minister is trying to heal these divisions but is not backed by his church. He endeavors to promote community activity, but outside forces interfere.

6. Denominational or other churches in this community give a distinctly devotional emphasis. What they promote is unrelated to social and economic needs. The individual members may or may not be participating in parallel community enterprises. The church preaching and worship is not related to these activities. The church contributes little or nothing, directly, to law enforcement, economic progress, or scientific agriculture.

The minister here is not trained for the country. He appears to have no knowledge of economic processes and organizations.

Sometimes in extreme form this split between religion and the rest of life takes the form of "out-law" sects, Holy Jumpers, etc. Religion for them is in the realm of magic rather than social welfare.

7. The community is progressive. Many agencies are at work and the community is interested in them and willing to support them so far as possible. These agencies, however, see things each from its own viewpoint. They step on each other's toes. Churches, schools, Scouts clubs, social agencies, and economic organizations all compete for time and money. How many ought a community to support? Can they work together without duplication or interference?

8. A community church or other strong church takes hold of community enterprises and tries to monopolize them. While the church may be strong, it makes a slight impression on existing community needs. The minister tries to act as chairman of all social work committees. What the church cannot control, it, like a dog in the manger, tries to keep out. Religious life is interpreted in terms of church activities.

9. The church is inefficient.

(1) Perhaps a "scrub preacher." Less than half the rural ministers have high school education or equivalent. "I like to go to church but I can't stand the preaching." Minister may lack ability, or may be merely untrained.

(2) Efforts at evangelism through traditional channels are unsuccessful.

(3) Religious education is grossly inadequate. See Indiana Survey. Teachers are unacquainted with modern psychology, knowledge of groupings, etc., and lack the technique for getting religion to become effective in conduct.

(4) Equipment is inadequate.

(5) Church organization is unsatisfactory. The church is "run" by the minister who tries to do it all himself, or by a small group of elderly people who monopolize affairs.

10. "The church is so much better than most of these described that I suppose I ought to go home thankful." Good live community. One strong church with denominational connections. Community a unit in many activities. What shall be done? "We are ready to go ahead; where do we go?"

11. Community practically unchurched. Some have three or more little churches with services every few weeks.

Village churches do not cover country. Rural group not interested in village churches.

Community may be sparsely settled. May be declining in virility of stock.

Community may be completely untouched, as in lumber regions, pioneer territory, coal fields, etc.

12. Community composed mostly of tenant farmers. Church has no policy regarding tenant-landlord relations. No interest in improving the situation of the tenants.



13. Migratory situation. Immigrant farmers. Foreign groups neglected. The diverse cultural and religious backgrounds cannot be met by the same kind of worship or activities.

#### PROPOSED REMEDIES

While the conferees were largely agreed on the main ills of the country church, they were not so unanimous in agreeing on remedial steps. A few of the many remedies proposed are the following:

1. Exchanging fields: The area to be served by each denomination to be mutually agreed on.
2. The establishment of a community church, to take the place of competing denominational churches.
3. The federated church.
4. Centering on one denomination.
5. Denominational churches on a community basis, where service to the community comes ahead of service to the denomination.

The first plan, that of exchanging fields, was the one most acceptable to the conference, largely because it seemed to be most practical. All of the plans suggested had in view larger church districts, served by more adequately trained rural ministers.

#### METHODIST-EPISCOPAL MEMBERS ACT

The following resolution, adopted by the members of the Methodist-Episcopal church attending the conference, throws a flood of light on the headway made by the conference:

"We, the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in attendance at the American Country Life Association at Columbus, Ohio, have had impressed upon us repeatedly some facts among which the following is typical:

"Communities throughout our country feeling that competing denominations are hindering the coöperation necessary for their largest religious development, are eagerly seeking some solution of their problems.

"In the light of this fact and in view of the contribution toward what we believe to be a constructive solution of this problem we appeal to you to give prayerful consideration to the following suggestions:

- "1. That the bishops, district superintendents, and other administrative officers of our denomination cordially coöperate with the leaders of other denominations in an effort to so organize rural church geographical units that not more than one Protestant church to every one thousand population shall prevail as a standard.
- "2. That service to the community rather than to the denomination be the basis on which ministers shall be trained, appointed, and promoted.
- "3. That the Methodist-Episcopal Church take the lead in the give and take method with other denominations, even to the extent of encouraging the discontinuance of small, struggling, competing Methodist churches in the interest of real Christian service to the communities involved.
- "4. That zeal for service to the entire community and a sympathetic consideration for those whose background and training are non-Methodist shall characterize the efforts of the Methodist-Episcopal Church wherever it alone occupies a rural field.
- "5. That the conference membership of a Methodist-Episcopal minister shall not be jeopardized by appointment as pastor of a federated, or undenominational church where such a church is required for the largest service to the community."

The following editorial from a Columbus paper senses the situation facing the country church, and is in accord with the conference viewpoint:

"Members of the American Country Life Association meeting here would perform a real service for the nation if they could devise some method to convince members and pastors of rural churches that the road along which most of them are traveling is not leading to their destination.

"In hundreds of villages throughout Ohio are two or three and some times four churches struggling to keep their heads above the waters of financial disaster.

"Each denomination seeks to maintain its own church and as a result in many towns there are three or four incompetent, though earnest ministers, attempting to live on \$500 a year and donations, where if a community church were formed with the resultant decrease in the cost of building maintenance, a \$2500 or \$3000 a year

pastor of broader gauge could be installed who would be a giant force for good in the church and town.

"Much of the discussion of the educators here for the convention has been on the problems of the rural church and it would be of inestimable benefit to the country if these men could make the denominational leaders see the matter in the same light."

It was unanimously agreed that this was the most successful conference so far held by the

American Country Life Association. There were 260 members present; and, all told, around 700 people representing practically all the states and the Canadian provinces attended the discussions. Among these were 43 student delegates from theological schools. Good fellowship and harmony existed throughout the entire session of four days—good evidence, perhaps, that the country church is in real trouble.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

What have "The Creative Spirit and the Church" to do with each other? The comfortable Christianity of these days, zealous in fortifying its traditions and providing itself with the trappings of temporal power, has drawn so far away from its origins that the homeless young revolutionist who founded it would have some trouble in finding a pulpit to preach from. Yet his religion is at heart an adventure in seeking and finding, an unleashing of the creative energies of men; it is a champion of social justice, not a colorless arbiter in a world of fine-drawn conventions; it is the spirit of beauty in every relation of human life. Rollo Walter Brown eloquently and provocatively maintains in the December *Harper's* that the church needs to rededicate itself to these purposes.

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More than twenty years ago Gaylord S. White resigned from the pastorate of a city church to enter a social settlement. Experience there has given him, he avers, a new and finer Christian faith, and his thoughtful "Recollections of a Settlement Worker" from *Scribner's* for December reveal how he has gained in friendship, has come to see the importance of economic factors in the moral life of the people, and has recognized the vast reserve of unsuspected goodness in the ordinary run of human beings. He urges the churches to cultivate a sense of responsibility for their neighborhoods as a whole, and live as well as preach the social gospel.

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The recent church union in Canada has found many echoes in the press of this country. James

Gordon Gilky writes in the *Christian Century* for November 27 "Why Laymen Want a United Church." Though most ministers still oppose it, the cost of new buildings is so high, the over-churching of towns and cities leads to such waste and sectarian rivalry, and ministers change so readily from one communion to another, that men in the pews are beginning to question the use of maintaining the old minor distinctions of Protestantism. Lines of cleavage due to the conservative temperament and the love for ritual will always remain, but the liberal denominations should now combine, first within themselves and then among one another, for the upbuilding of a more genuine religious life.

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Readers of Judge Winston's recent animadversions in these pages on Darwin and orthodoxy may or may not agree with William Patten, who tells in the December *Scientific Monthly* "Why I Teach Evolution" at Dartmouth. His reasons are three: because it is the only logical and unifying concept of natural phenomena there is; because it brings back a living God into those fields from which a certain philosophy and religion have excluded Him; and because its methods exemplify the successful usage of the highest ethical and moral principles. Developing with considerable imaginative power the implications of this last idea, he reaches the conclusion that science and religion are at bottom one thing, interpreting and utilizing in two distinct ways the same realities of nature. Evolution, binding the two together, helps us to understand the purpose of life and how to accomplish it.



The youth of the world are making themselves heard in a variety of ways, nowhere more notably than through "The Tuxis Movement in Canada." Devoted to the fourfold development of boyhood from 15 to 20 that shall carry religious idealism and responsibility into the common affairs of life, it claims to be a training for Christian service on the broadest lines. It is wholly self-governing and largely self-supporting, writes Hedley S. Dimock in the November-December *American Review*, and provincial Tuxis Parliaments meet annually to legislate for its program of prohibition, boys' camps, the father and son movement, clean living, vocational guidance, athletic meets in which all may participate, and district councils for inspiration and discussion of every sort. A generation with new vision is growing up to the north of us.

\* \* \*

In this country there is no single organized movement of such importance, but Allen Armstrong Hunter, writing in the December *Forum* on "The Stirring of Youth," believes that a number of assemblies during the past year have revealed a new consciousness of the problems of war, sex, race prejudice, and industrial relations that confront the coming generation. The Student Volunteer Convention at Indianapolis, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace that grew out of it, the conference of young Methodists in Louisville, and the recent meeting of twenty-eight organizations of young people at Bear Mountain have all shown a critical-mindedness, an asking of disconcerting questions, and a free exchange of opinion that will some day reshape our world. The youth of America are wondering whether a man can live unto himself alone.

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More than 1,500 letters have been received by *Collier's* in comment on a recent article of W. O. Saunders explaining why he was not a church member. In the issue for November 1 Webb Waldron tells what he has learned by reading them. Written from every conceivable point of view in praise or denunciation of organized Christianity, the letters make up a composite picture of the church and religion as seen by enthusiastic, critical, worried, bitter, but on the whole reverent Americans today.

"Get the Churches Out of the Chaplaincy Business!" demands the *Christian Century* in its issue of November 20. In recent months the Federal Council of Churches, by increasing the number of army chaplains and attempting to secure for them higher rank as officers, has made it harder for Christian men and women to set their faces against war. Army authorities welcome the chaplains for their effect on morale and efficiency, and they in turn are working as much to militarize the churches as to Christianize the army. Service for the soldiers should be performed by ministers in their own right as religious teachers and spiritual guides; they degrade their high calling by grafting on it the allegiance of an army officer.

\* \* \*

Modern men, in matters of sex, have allowed themselves to be led into new policies with every veering of social conditions. Christian idealism, on the contrary, would impose upon sex a fixed purpose formulated by the common conscience and sense of the general honor of mankind. Love exists for the creation and maintenance of the family; marriage is an irrevocable but none the less a free act, acceptance of which as the goal of passion makes for lasting happiness. If this ideal is unsuited to the modern world, so much the worse for the modern world. We are today fearfully relapsing into birth control; Christianity has proved the practicability and the positive virtue of self control. Thus G. K. Chesterton, in his usual inimitable manner, on "Religion and Sex" in the first number of the new weekly review *The Commonweal*.

\* \* \*

In social action for the upbuilding of a better world it might be wise as well as morally right to coöperate with the Catholic Church, which has a remedy for every modern problem, suggests Hoffman Nickerson, writing "On Alliance with Rome" in the same issue. The Church exists as an organ of constructive internationalism in a society of dangerous national feeling, maintains the right to property as the surest guarantee against economic despotism from above or from below, stands like a rock behind the institution of marriage, and upholds the finest traditions of

scholarship and reason. Those who cannot give her allegiance, says the author, at least owe her respect.

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The Salvation Army, with its uncompromising insistence on the saving of souls, holds a unique place among American institutions. Two investigators from the New York School of Social Work are soon to issue a report (summarized

under the title "Salvation First" in the *Survey* for November 15) outlining its contribution to social thought and practice in this country. They find in it many elements of strength and weakness; the popular favor in which it has been held since the war seems well justified, but there are features in the payment of officers, the keeping of records, and the unscientific methods of work which might be improved in the interests of more efficient service.

*A report and evaluation of the recent quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Atlanta will be presented in a later issue of the JOURNAL.*



## Inter-Racial Cooperation

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PIONEER

MONROE N. WORK

**B**OOKER T. WASHINGTON was a pioneer in the real sense of the word. When he came to Alabama in 1881, to establish Tuskegee Institute, he could have made this school similar to other Normal schools. Instead of taking, however, a ready made curriculum and putting it into the school, he first made a study of the conditions of the people and then endeavored to adapt the courses in the school to meet the needs of these conditions. Here was an indication of that originality and intuitive insight which characterized his whole life and work. What the conditions were among the Negroes in Alabama and how he went about getting first hand knowledge of them is told in his own words, as follows:

"I reached Tuskegee, as I have said, early in June, 1881. The first month I spent in finding accommodations for the school, and in travelling through Alabama, examining into the actual life of the people, especially in the country districts, and in getting the school advertised among the class of people that I wanted to attend it. The most of my travelling was done over the country roads, with a mule and a cart or a mule and a buggy wagon for conveyance. I ate and slept with the people, in their little cabins. I saw their farms, their schools, their churches."

One of the things which he learned soon after beginning his work at Tuskegee was the very important part that public opinion on the race question had to do with a Negro school. He states, "One of the first questions that I had to answer for myself after beginning my work at Tuskegee was how I was to deal with public opinion on the race question. I had not gone very far in

my work before I found myself trying to formulate clear and definite answers to some very fundamental questions. The questions came to me in this way: The colored people wanted to know why I proposed to teach their children to work. They said that they and their parents had been compelled to work for two hundred and fifty years, and now they wanted their children to go to school, so that they might be free and live like white folks—without working. Some of the Southern white people, on the contrary, were opposed to any kind of education for Negroes. Others inquired whether I was merely going to train preachers and teachers or whether I proposed to furnish them with trained servants. Some of the people in the North understood that I proposed to train the Negro to be a mere 'hewer of wood and drawer of water,' and feared that my school would make no effort to prepare him to take his place in the community as a man and a citizen."

Booker T. Washington might have sought to avoid the issues raised and gone along the line of least resistance. Instead he decided to adopt a policy of honesty and frankness. "After thinking the matter all out," he states, "I made up my mind definitely on one or two fundamental points. I determined: First, that I should at all times be perfectly frank and honest in dealing with each of the three classes of people that I have mentioned. Second, that I should not depend upon any short cuts or expedients merely for the sake of gaining temporary popularity or advantage. Whether for the time being such action brought me popularity or the reverse. With these two points clear before me as my creed, I began to go forward."

It was in this spirit that Booker T. Washington sought to deal with the race problem as it confronted him in the founding of Tuskegee Institute. Thus it came to pass, that he built a school around a problem, or putting it another way, he made the education of the Negro a method of dealing with the race problem.

An important phase of the race problem was the question whether the Negroes as a group would acquire sufficient economic efficiency to take their place in the nation as free men. This depended in a large measure upon their attitude toward labor, working with the hands. The attitude of the Negroes toward labor in the Reconstruction Period and immediately after was a heritage from slavery days. They considered labor as the work of slaves; further, when you were really and truly free, you did not have to labor. They brought Biblical support for this attitude by pointing out that a part of the curse that God put upon Adam was that man should labor, should be compelled to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. A story is told of an old colored man who spent considerable time trying to convince Mr. Washington that from the experience of Adam in the Garden of Eden, it was a sin to work.

Booker T. Washington set out to change this attitude about labor by teaching the dignity of labor. The substance of this doctrine was that they should dignify and glorify common labor, and should put brains and skill into the common occupations of life.

In one of his Sunday evening talks to students and teachers at Tuskegee, he said, "People, as a rule, take two views of the object of work. One is the old view; the other is the new view. The old view considers work as something placed in the world as a curse, as a punishment for people; and then in connection with that same idea, people formerly regarded work as being something placed here for the purpose of enabling one to earn a living.

"Both of these views are short sighted. There is scarcely a pig in Alabama that is not able to earn its living. A human being who is only able to do this, is not very much beyond the pig. The new view changes this view of labor. Persons have learned by experience to look upon work

as a privilege, as something that is placed here for the highest benefit of human beings.

"It does not apply to any special race, to any special nation, or to any special period of time. You will find that when races or nations get to the point of looking upon labor as a privilege, they are making real progress. The successful nations or races, all that have really made a place in life, you will find always without exception, that they are the races or nations that have learned how to work, to labor; they have learned that it is a privilege to work. They have learned that labor constitutes a part of the highest service of any race or nation."

Along with the idea of the dignity of labor, Booker T. Washington also advocated that education should be made common, that is not only should it be placed within reach of all; but it should also have as subject matter the common things of life. When this is done, then education ceases to be exclusive, ceases to be for gentle folk only. A vital connection is established between education and labor. The result is that a new point of view is reached with respect to labor.

In another of his Sunday evening talks at Tuskegee Institute, he urged that:

"We must make education common—common as the grass, as the sunshine, make it so common that everybody will feel that education is not a vague far off something, dwelling in the midst of the supernatural.

"All that I am trying to urge upon you is to connect your school work, your educational work, with the actual life of the community, because the very minute that people can understand that everything inside the schoolroom has a vital connection with their own life, it will have an interest for every family, every child, every individual in that community, and from that very moment our schools are going to be generously supported in every part of the South. We must make the kind of connection that I have indicated between school life and rural community life."

Booker T. Washington's preaching concerning the dignity of labor, making education common, becoming efficient, he put into practice by developing at Tuskegee Institute a system of education which dignified labor, made education common



and increased the economic efficiency of the Negro. The development of Tuskegee Institute met the objections of the Negroes with regard to labor in that they saw it in a new light. This development met the objections of the North in that the people there saw that the Negro was being trained to take his place as a man and a citizen. It helped to remove the opposition in the South to Negro education, for by connecting education with every day life, it was made practical and a benefit, not only to the Negro but also to the South.

The next advance in Booker T. Washington's policy of making education a method of dealing with the race problem was to endeavor to show to white and black alike that only through coöperation, working together, could they prosper. They would rise or fall together. The white man could not rise and at the same time keep the Negro down. This was formulated in that famous expression, "You cannot keep a man down in a ditch unless you remain down there with him." How the black and white might live and work together was set forth in the now famous Atlanta address in which was advocated the doctrine that white and black in the South could live side by side and "be one in all things essential to mutual progress."

The importance of this address was that it formulated a program for whites and blacks to work each for their own advantage, for their mutual interests and for the prosperity of the South. This was not a new doctrine or the advocacy of something that had not been tried. Whites and blacks had been living side by side; they had been working and making progress. What Booker T. Washington did was to point out that what was needed was not some untried method of dealing with the race problem; but rather the developing and extending of the things which were already being done.

The Atlanta address was on the one hand a plea to the Negro to let down his bucket where he was into the opportunities of the South. It was urged that no place in the world afforded greater opportunities for his progress than the place in which he was living. The Atlanta address was also a plea for the Negroes to have more faith in the white people among whom they were living. "To those of my race who depend on

bettering their condition in a foreign land and who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Cast it down in making friends in every manly way with the people with whom you are surrounded." To the white people it was a plea to have more faith in the Negro. To them Washington said:

"To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race. 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your buckets among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Booker T. Washington spent the twenty years, the period from the delivery of the Atlanta ad-

dress, 1895, to his death in 1915, in endeavoring, on the one hand, to meet the needs of the Negroes, and on the other hand, in working for the bettering of race relations. In endeavoring to meet the needs of the Negroes, he developed Tuskegee Institute into an institution whose original methods of instruction have profoundly influenced present day vocational training. At the same time, the school, incidently, became famous throughout the world.

Another way in which he endeavored to meet the needs of the Negroes was by establishing and promoting agencies for reaching and aiding the masses outside or beyond the direct influence of the school room. This was an attempt to educate the people on the soil. When Booker T. Washington died, Tuskegee Institute was carrying on more than twenty-five different extension activities designed to improve the general welfare of the Negroes in agriculture, in education, in home life, in health, in religion and in business. One of the most important of these agencies is the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference, which each year brings to the school large numbers of farmers from every part of the South to learn about better methods of farming and how to improve not only the farm, but likewise, the farm home, the school and the church. Out of the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference has grown a number of other agencies for improving farming conditions, such as the Agriculture Demonstration Work, the Movable School and the Short Course in Agriculture.

For the purpose of stimulating and improving the Negroes' business opportunities, there was established in 1900 the National Negro Business League. Among the important results of the establishing of this organization for business improvement were: That the Negro business men of the country became acquainted with each other, and from this contact they got information and inspiration. Other persons were influenced to go into business. Negro business men were brought prominently before the general public; local business leagues were organized in all sections of the country. The League, through its annual meetings and in other ways, has continued to stimulate and promote race enterprises. It is today, one of the most important factors in Negro business progress.

Booker T. Washington early saw that in order for the Negro to make permanent progress, it was necessary for him to improve his health conditions. Almost from the founding of Tuskegee Institute, it was made a health center. A hospital and nurse training school were early made a part of the institution. Later a fifty thousand dollar hospital was erected, which became a health center for the entire Lower South. The National Negro Health Week was established as a direct effort to spread information concerning health improvement among the Negroes throughout the country. In sending out the first appeal for the observance of National Negro Health Week, Mr. Washington said, "Without health and until we reduce the high death rate, it will be impossible for us to have permanent success in business, in property getting, in acquiring education, or to show other evidences of progress. Without health and long life, all else fails. We must reduce our high death rate, dethrone disease, enthrone health and long life. We may differ on other subjects; but there is no room for difference here. Let us make a strong, long, united pull together."

One of Booker T. Washington's most extended and continued efforts for improving the conditions of the colored people on the soil was by assisting in the improving of the rural schools of the South, by directing Negro farm communities; in the building of school houses, in the lengthening of school terms and in the securing of competent teachers. He was mainly instrumental in securing for this purpose the Anna T. Jeanes Fund of one million dollars to be applied toward the maintenance and assistance of elementary schools for Negroes in the South. He also secured from Mr. Julius Rosenwald money to assist in erecting rural school houses for Negroes in the South. An important feature of the work for school improvement was that it afforded a means of improving race relations in that the coöperation of whites and Negroes is secured in improving school conditions. This is strikingly illustrated through what has been accomplished by the Jeanes Foundation and the Rosenwald School House Building Fund.

In 1913, the work of the Negro Rural School Fund of the Jeanes Foundation was carried on in 121 counties of the South; these counties that



year contributed toward the salaries of the Jeanes' supervising teachers \$3,402. In 1924, the work of the Jeanes Foundation was carried on in 289 counties, and the counties contributed from the public funds toward the paying of the Jeanes supervising teachers \$144,423.

The condition of the Rosenwald School House Building project was that the people in the community where a school house was to be erected, should secure from the public school funds, or raise among themselves, an amount equivalent to or larger than that given by Mr. Rosenwald. In the ten years, 1914 to 1924, since the Rosenwald School House Building campaign was begun, 2,500 Rosenwald schools have been erected at a total cost of \$10,255,851. Of this amount \$2,307,593 was contributed by Negroes, \$503,098 by whites, \$5,548,683 by public school authorities, and \$1,866,477 by Mr. Rosenwald.

In addition to what was done through school improvement work to bring about better race relations, Booker T. Washington worked more directly towards this end. He spent a great deal of time in interpreting the Negro to the South and the South to the Negro. All for the purpose that better race relations throughout the South might obtain. This was done through articles in newspapers and magazines, through addresses on special occasions; but more especially through what came to be known as his "educational tours."

One of his notable articles with reference to improving the conditions under which Negroes lived was published in the *Century Magazine*, November, 1912, under the title, "Is the Negro Having a Fair Chance?" After citing some of the advantages under which the Negro lived, it was pointed out that there was still a question as to whether he was having a fair chance. There was the difficulty experienced in obtaining a square deal at all times. There was for example the dissatisfaction because of unequal accommodations in railroad travel, the lack of a square deal in education, the evils of the convict system and the crime of lynching.

In this article Booker T. Washington took occasion to advocate the ballot for the intelligent Negro. Concerning this he said: "In my opinion it is a fatal mistake to teach the young

black man and the young white man that the dominance of the white race in the South rests upon any other basis than absolute justice to the weaker man. It is a mistake to cultivate in the mind of any individual or group of individuals the feelings and belief that their happiness rests upon the misery of some one else, or that their intelligence is measured by the ignorance of some one else; or their wealth by the poverty of some one else. I do not advocate that the Negro make politics or the holding of office an important thing in his life. I do urge, in the interest of fair play for everybody, that a Negro who prepares himself in property, in intelligence, and in character to cast a ballot, and desires to do so, should have the opportunity."

Booker T. Washington's educational tours consisted in spending a week or ten days in traveling over a particular state and making a number of speeches each day to crowds of whites and Negroes. The first of these educational tours was made in 1905 in the states of Arkansas and Oklahoma. From that time until his death, similar tours were made in Delaware, parts of Virginia, and West Virginia, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. "My purpose," he said, "in making these educational campaigns was not merely to see the conditions of the masses of my own people; but to ascertain also the actual relations existing between the races, and to say a word, if possible, that would bring about more helpful relations between white men and black men in the communities which I visited." It was a general custom wherever he spoke on his educational tours to have one or more addresses from the leading white persons present. This was a very important step in race relations; for up to this time such a thing had not been done to any great extent anywhere in the South, that is, white and black meeting together and talking face to face to each other. Concerning this, he said: "One of the advantages of the educational campaigns is that they have given an opportunity to Southern men to stand up in public and say what was deep down in their hearts with regard to the Negroes, to express a feeling toward the Negro that represents another and higher side of Southern character, and one

which, as a result of sectional feelings and political controversies, has been too long hidden from the world."

That Booker T. Washington had a fundamental program is indicated by its successful continuation since his death. The lines of work which he laid down are being carried on and further developed. Tuskegee Institute, on the one hand, under his successor, Robert R. Moton, is continuing to

assist in meeting the needs of the Negroes and in promoting "good will" between the races. On the other hand the Inter-racial Coöperation movement is continuing, through organized efforts, to carry on the work of improving race relations. Through this agency coöperation between the races is being promoted in a large way, and efforts are being put forth to assist in giving the Negro a fair chance, a square deal.

## RECENT LITERATURE ON THE NEGRO

GUY B. JOHNSON

SINCE THE appearance of *The Negro in Chicago* two years ago, there has been an increase in the quantity of literature on the Negro. But, what is more important, the quality of works on this subject is also improving. The outstanding books of the last two years may be listed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

NEGRO POETS AND THEIR POEMS, by Robert T. Kerlin. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1923.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF VERSE BY AMERICAN NEGROES, by N. I. White and W. C. Jackson. Durham, N. C.: Trinity College Press, 1924.

THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO, by the Chicago Race Commission. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

THE NEGRO FROM AFRICA TO AMERICA, by W. D. Weatherford. New York: Geo. H. Doran, 1924.

WHITE AMERICA, by Earnest S. Cox. Richmond: White America Society, 1923.

The present study will attempt to indicate briefly the meaning, scope, and importance of these works as indicative of trends in the study of the race problem.

### THE RECOGNITION OF NEGRO POETRY

It may be a paradox, but it is true that those who think they know the Negro best really know least about his inner life. The average Southerner is surprised to learn that Negroes write poetry worth reading. I observed during my

college days that the majority of students finished without any knowledge of Negro poetry. Not long ago I showed a college senior the anthology by White and Jackson. His perplexed look betrayed his ignorance. Taking the book, he glanced through the pages, pausing here and there to read a few lines and make comment. Suddenly he uttered a snort of mingled surprise and indignation. He had discovered that Paul Laurence Dunbar was a Negro!

But how could we expect students to know better when their teachers are not informed? A few months ago I was discussing books of poetry with the professor of English in one of the largest colleges of the Southwest. He happened to say that he was using one of William Stanley Braithwaite's anthologies in his course on modern poetry. I remarked that I considered it a sign of progress that Southern white teachers were using books compiled by leading Negro poets. He was indignant: Braithwaite could not possibly be a Negro, and that was final. I did not press my point, knowing that it might have led to a complete revolution in his course on modern poetry, so he probably believes still that Braithwaite is a hundred per cent white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, native-born American.

It is significant, therefore, that the white man has at last given formal recognition of his appreciation of Negro poetry. Kerlin's work and the anthology by White and Jackson, taken together, give a fairly adequate survey of Negro poetry from Phillis Wheatley to the present. Kerlin, who will be remembered for his previous work, *The Voice of the Negro*, has written a more com-

<sup>1</sup> The following books came to my attention too late to include in the present article: W. E. B. DuBois: *The Gift of Black Folk*, and Kelly Miller: *The Everlasting Stain*.

It is impossible to include a discussion of fiction in this brief paper. The chief novels since Stribling's *Birthright* are: Wood's *Nigger*; Shands' *Black and White*; Diggs' *The Curse at the Door*; Majette's *White Blood*; and White's *The Fire in the Flint*. It may be said that most of these works center around the mulatto theme and that none possesses the elements of greatness. The time is ripe for a Hugo or a Turgenev to immortalize the strivings of the Negro race.



prehensive work than have White and Jackson. He has included practically all of the Negro poets worth mentioning, has not followed a rigid chronological scheme, and has selected representative poems. The other book is a genuinely appreciative effort on the part of two Southern professors to portray the character and progress of Negro poetry. One of the best features of their book is the biographical notes. While, by their failure to choose representative poems and their omission of many of the best contemporary writers, they have fallen short of presenting a true picture of Negro poetry; they have nevertheless produced a book which should prove valuable in introducing the white South to a thing about which it is generally ignorant.

#### A SCIENTIFIC SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

*The Negro in Chicago* represents the application of the technique of the scientific social survey to the study of race relations. While the findings of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations constitute a veritable source-book for those who are studying the Negro, the methodology which they employed deserves careful attention.

*The Negro in Chicago* is really a group product. To begin with, the commission was composed of six whites and six Negroes, all capable of doing research work above the plane of prejudice and preconceived ideas. In the next place, the field of study was divided into six sections (racial clashes, housing, industry, crime, racial contacts, public opinion) and research experts of both races were sent into the field to gather first-hand data. In the meantime, the commission was holding conferences with bankers, real estate men, employers, employees, ministers, policemen, and ordinary citizens of both races. Furthermore, after the material was collected by the field investigators or obtained by the commission at its conferences, it was gone over again and again by the commission, so that the final report represented the consensus of the members.

But the distinctive thing about this report is its emphasis on public opinion, feelings, attitudes. Social investigators have neglected these in the past to their loss. Perhaps this is due to their failure to distinguish between attitudes as categories and attitudes as explanations of pheno-

mena. The new emphasis upon the attitudes and feelings of persons and groups in respect to a social situation is, however, based on the recognition of their importance as social forces. There is a difference between mistaking the opinions of a person for the true explanation of a given situation and recording that person's attitude as an objective fact: his reaction to the situation. The latter conception is in perfect accord with the scientific method of social study. The very nature of racial situations predetermines that attitudes and feelings take the leading role, and any survey of race relations which neglects them will tell only a part of the truth. In *The Negro in Chicago* the writers give life to the study by portraying the reaction of whites and Negroes to certain definite situations, such as poor housing, Negro residence in "white" blocks, bombing of houses, discrimination in industry and in public places. Besides this, two chapters are devoted to public opinion, including discussion of the part played by rumor and exaggerated newspaper stories.

This study grew out of the Chicago race riot of 1919. But it is primarily a study of the Negro community in Chicago and secondarily a report on the riot. Therefore the technique of the study is adaptable to other cities regardless of section, and it is to be hoped that other cities North and South take inventories of their racial situations before they get into the danger stage.

#### A SOUTHERN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE NEGRO

In Weatherford's *The Negro From Africa to America*, we have the best historical and descriptive study of the Negro ever written by a Southerner. Doctor Weatherford is president of the Southern College of Young Men's Christian Associations, the author of several works on the Negro, and is one of the few men in the South who have made a scientific study of the Negro.

Weatherford devotes the first half of his book to the historical background of the Negro, beginning with a survey of tribal life in Africa. Then follow several chapters on slavery. In this first half of his work Weatherford has made no contribution in the sense of original research, but he has brought together and organized a remark-

able amount of material, not only from the better-known authorities but from elusive documents on slavery and plantation life in the South. The only serious criticisms of this section of the work are criticisms of the author's choice of documentary materials and of the unwarranted conclusions to which his choices sometimes lead. A religious bias apparently led him to select quotations to fit into his expression, "All Africans believe in God." Furthermore, in the chapters on slavery one feels that while all that is included is true, there is a darker side which Weatherford failed to describe.

The last half of the book contains the following chapters: Present Economic Conditions, Health and Housing, Religious Life of the Negro, The Negro and the Law, The Negro and Education, The Negro and Self Expression, Negro Leadership and Self Determination, and Constructive Movements. Here the author is more at home, for he is thoroughly conversant with present tendencies in Negro life. The criticism of this section is that he over-simplifies the problem of racial adjustment by describing good conditions and coöperative efforts without proper emphasis upon the less promising aspects of the problem. But, for all that, the book is a triumph of the scientific attitude over prejudice. It is a great improvement over most of the books on the negro in use in Southern colleges, and as such should go a long way toward putting the spirit of toleration and the scientific interest into Southern college students.

DuBois said of *The Negro from Africa to America*:

In his interpretation of the Negro, Mr. Weatherford is frequently at fault. He has difficulty in understanding the self determining, intelligent black man who stands on his own feet. He is continually quoting the smoother phrases of the late Booker Washington and the present Dr. Moton. Yet the net verdict on Mr. Weatherford's book must be favorable; it is the best thing the white South has produced.

The net impression of Mr. Weatherford's scheme of treatment is that of a well-meaning man who in spite of himself is oleaginous and patronizing. . . .

The book lacks frankness; it is often double-faced and contradictory.<sup>2</sup>

Carter G. Woodson, writing in his *Journal of Negro History*, said:

The present volume has many faults. It undertakes too much. It abounds in numerous long quotations in places where the reader expects digested material. The author did not write from first hand information on many of the important topics which he unsatisfactorily treats. The subjects discussed are presented without due regard to proportion.<sup>3</sup>

The contentions that Weatherford has often chosen quotations poorly and has drawn some unwarranted conclusions are in the main true, and they should give him valuable hints in the revision of his book for later editions. Severe criticisms were to be expected from the Negro left wing, but even these criticisms reveal appreciation of the significance of Weatherford's achievement.

#### THE NORDIC ALARM AGAIN

However much we might like to ignore such works as Cox's *White America*, we cannot do so. Like Grant's *The Passing of The Great Race* and Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color*, Cox's work is certain to have a wide reading and a considerable influence.

*White America* and its accountrements are disarming in their frankness. The book is published by The White America Society, Richmond, Virginia. This society is largely responsible for the passage of the Virginia Race Integrity Law, which is plainly a reaction against the liberal tendencies in race relations. The book cover on *White America* comes adorned with quotations from Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, Madison Grant and others. A careful search of the scriptures might have furnished the author with quotations which would have made a better impression on some of his clients.

Without a blush, Cox sets out to prove that if America wants to remain white she must rid herself of her black population. His logic is somewhat as follows:

*Major Premise:* The white race is the founder of all civilization and the only race capable of perpetuating civilization.

*Minor Premise:* When in contact, the white and black races have always sooner or later

<sup>2</sup> See the *Nation*: Sept. 10, 1924, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of Negro History*: Oct., 1924, p. 575.



mingled and produced a hybrid which is incapable of retaining the civilization of whites. This process has gone on very slowly in the United States thus far, but it goes on nevertheless, insidiously and inevitably.

*Conclusion:* Therefore, America must save civilization (that is, keep white) by using the only certain method, namely: deportation of the Negroes to Africa.

Now there is no doubt that Cox is a student, for he has collected a great amount of historical material and has studied the race problem on every continent. But there is plenty of doubt as to his being a *scientific* student. His logic, as given above, is faulty at every step. The major premise is already discredited, and a few more books of this kind will completely strangle it for those who think scientifically. The minor premise is built upon unsubstantial data, so that the interpretation which Cox gives is questionable, to say the least. Then too, it apparently never occurred to him that the American race situation may be such that the history of other situations will not repeat itself. But, having once become obsessed with these premises, Cox found no escape from the "repatriation" plan as the sole remedy. His chapters on "The Ideal Negro State" and "The Program of Repatriation" should take their place in the museum of modern utopias.

The poor Negro! He is not to be invited to go to Africa, but be made to go.

If the negro is timid and does not wish to go when the ways of his going and the means of his living there are provided for him, then he is to be made to go.

The question of the repatriation of the negro should not be left to the negro's decision, any more than the question of the removal of the Indian was left to the choice of the Indian.<sup>4</sup>

Then, after the Negro is sent back to Africa, he is to be blessed with the white man's counsel and overlordship. Incidentally the white man is not to lose any money in the deal.

Again, there is no necessity for confining our negroes to the present limits of Liberia. We should widen, by purchase, that country's borders. If not this, we should acquire the Belgian Congo, which is the richest and most inviting portion of the world yet awaiting the light of civilization. If not the Belgian Congo—then Portuguese West Africa; or part of the French possessions; or German Togoland, or the Kamerun . . .

<sup>4</sup> *White America*: p. 339.

Economically, America is entering upon imperialism. Not only is there hope merely, but there is substantial prospect of our economic imperialism, as directed toward the second greatest continent, being realized in good measure if we follow up present advantage and widen the borders of Liberia or acquire additional territory elsewhere on the West Coast. Liberia offers the possibility of a splendid naval base, which may not only dominate the western coast of Africa but be within a comparatively short distance of South America.<sup>5</sup>

One looks in vain for a discussion of the simplest problems involved in Cox's plan of deportation. Had it occurred to him that at the rate of five hundred deportations a day<sup>6</sup> the process would require something like eighty-five years? Perhaps he expects the superior, intellectual, civilized white man to invent an ocean-bridge device which will make it possible to drive the Negroes across in a body.

On the other hand, writing to the JOURNAL concerning Herskovits' review<sup>7</sup> of *White America*, Mr. John Powell, one of the ardent advocates of the Virginia Race Integrity Law, said:<sup>8</sup>

It is humiliating to me, not only as a Southerner but as an American, to find, in a magazine bearing the imprint of the University of North Carolina, an article which in its implications at least, is so indecent and obscene . . . It is the boast of the North Carolinian that his state is peopled by men of the purest Anglo-Saxon blood. And in this hodge-podge of a melting-pot which America has become, it has rejoiced us in Virginia to see representatives of our original American stock surpassing in progress the foreignized commercial sections of the North and West.

As the greatness of your achievement, so is the weight of your responsibility. As a lover of your state, I protest against the publication in your magazine of such specious and deleterious propaganda.

\* \* \* \*

I will not burden your patience further. Enough has been said to demonstrate the triviality and inadequacy of Mr. Herskovits' review, and also, I hope, to prove his unworthiness to a place among your contributors. It hardly seems in order that Major Cox, who has devoted himself so assiduously and unselfishly to the service of mankind, should be subject to such an attack in the house of his friends, nor that a subject of such immeasurable

<sup>5</sup> *White America*: pp. 344-345.

<sup>6</sup> Probably a fair estimate when we remember that transportation would have to be free to the Negroes, that their holdings in America would have to be disposed of gradually, and that Liberia's absorption power would be limited by her economic preparations.

<sup>7</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, "Extremes and Means in Racial Interpretation"; *Journal of Social Forces*, May 1924.

<sup>8</sup> A portion of this letter was quoted in the November *Journal of Social Forces* in "The Search After Values."

importance and gravity and of such far-reaching consequences should be treated, at least in *your* Journal, with such impudent levity.

It is to be regretted that any effort to expose the warped logic of a book of this kind automatically classes one, in the minds of some, as an advocate of "social equality." But the fact may be emphasized that criticism of such puerile proposals as Cox makes does not have to touch the question of social equality at all. Cox put the book beneath that plane of criticism by refusing to consider any questions of human rights and democracy. Necessarily he mentions the Negro,

but he never forgets himself long enough to suggest that the Negro may have some ideas of his own.

It is to be hoped that *White America* falls mostly into the hands of those who have already learned to distinguish between scientific research and the tabulation of opinion, between truth and propaganda. The scientific study of the race problem is gaining ground, however, in spite of an occasional outburst from the ultra-Nordics, and the work of Weatherford and other Southerners gives evidence that the South is learning to think calmly about the Negro.

### GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Has the Klan any right to celebrate Christmas? Evoking the spirit of racial fanaticism in the name of one who became a renegade to the orthodox religion and patriotism of his day, it is attempting the impossible task of uniting Christianity and Nordicism. The race problem is first a question of scientific truth—getting at the still unknown facts about ethnic character and mixture—with which religion has nothing to do; and it is second a question of social procedure—handling the facts as they bear on national and world politics—in which religion speaks for the supremacy of moral values and the sacredness of personality. Every people has its morons and its élite, and the duty of modern statesmanship and science is to bring together the superior men of the whole world in a vast conspiracy to breed all races to a higher level. Thus Glenn Frank on "Christianity and Racialism" in the *December Century*. His diagnosis, as always, is brilliant and provocative.

\* \* \*

Higher figures for tuberculosis, rickets, and syphilis among Negroes are to be explained by the natural increase of population, fuller reports by health officers, and the overcrowded conditions in many northern cities, says Charles H. Garvin, writing on "Negro Health" in *Opportunity* for November. The so-called degenerative diseases are becoming prevalent, on the other hand, because of the higher scale of living that is possible for the more prosperous Negroes. Prevent-

ive hygiene is now beginning to be studied, and the best results will be obtained through the use of colored doctors and nurses among their own race.

\* \* \*

Our renewed concern with the long dormant doctrines of Malthus has rather tragic implications for the black races. Arthur E. King, discussing in the November and December issues of the same magazine "The Population Problem and the Negro," quotes a number of economists and sociologists on the present unprecedented increase in numbers among the white peoples that holds over them the threat of diminishing returns and lower standards of living on a world-wide scale. Opinions differ widely, but he finds too many writers who propose to maintain white superiority at any cost—the cost being usually exploitation of the colored races to the last degree. The author sees a possible solution in the inevitable mingling of blood between the races and the eventual loss of Negro identity.

\* \* \*

No better view can be had of the relations of the Jew to his environment during the last two hundred years than through study of the syllabus appearing in the *B'nai B'rith Magazine* for October, November, and December. Under the title of "The Jew in the Modern World" it deals with four stages of his recent history: first, the condition and character of the Jewish people in the



Ghettos of the eighteenth century; second, the course of their civil and political emancipation; third, what they encountered in western life and its effect on the racial heritage; and fourth, the rise of modern anti-Semitism. The syllabus includes a brief summary of important movements, events, and personalities, questions for study and discussion, topics for papers, reading lists, and subjects for debate.

\* \* \*

An elaborate study is made by E. Franklin Frazier of "A Negro Industrial Group," the longshoremen of New York City, in the *Howard Review* for June. The practical difficulties of the investigation were considerable, owing to the fear and suspicion with which he was received, but from 82 successful interviews he has found something of the antecedents, union membership, relations with whites, economic and social position, church connections, and education of these workers. His conclusions point to the need for assimilating the rural Negro to the standards of city life, "decasualizing" the industry, educating the men in union principles and practice, and removing the causes of interracial distrust.

#### N. C. STATE CONFERENCE ON NEGRO EDUCATION

The recent Negro Education Conference which met at Raleigh was not only a register of the progress of Negro education in North Carolina, but an indication of the reality of a more liberal spirit in race relations. A spirit of friendliness and racial coöperation characterized the entire meeting. Problems of Negro education were discussed, the chief topics being higher standards of teacher-training, the need of better equipment, the need for longer terms and more teachers, and the question of the relation of the private schools to public institutions.

Speaking of progress in the past few years, N. C. Newbold, Director of the Division of Negro Education, said:

"Within the past four years, including the present year, North Carolina has appropriated \$2,200,000 for its higher institutions of learning for Negroes,—four Normal Schools and the Agricultural and Technical College. These are actual appropriations for buildings,

improvements, and maintenance. . . . A building program of nearly a million dollars, for the two-year period, 1923-1924, is now being completed at these institutions. This includes dormitories, dining halls, homes for principals, administration and class-room buildings, shops, laundries, homes for faculty members, and the like. . . .

"The salaries of Negro teachers in this quadrennium, 1921-1925, will be in excess of \$7,000,000. New school buildings in cities, towns and rural districts, built in this period, will exceed a total cost of \$5,000,000. Other special purposes, such as supervision, summer schools, vocational education, county training and high schools, will add \$750,000. This will make a total expenditure in the four-year period of approximately \$15,000,000 of public funds on the Negro schools of North Carolina. It is a fact that in the decade 1895-1905 North Carolina did not spend on its whole public school system, including the State University and all other institutions, a sum as large as that which it is now planning to spend within four years for Negro education. No four-year period prior to 1910 in the State's history used so large a sum on all the public schools, white and colored."

#### THE NATIONAL NEGRO FINANCE CORPORATION

A plan that has been in the minds of Negro leaders for several years has at last assumed definite form in the National Negro Finance Corporation, chartered recently with headquarters at Durham, North Carolina. With Dr. R. R. Moton as president and C. C. Spaulding as vice-president, and backed by outstanding Negro financiers, this new venture gives promise of creating a Wall Street for the Negro. Stock to the extent of one million dollars is to be sold. According to a recent statement of the founders of the organization:

Its program is to provide working capital for individuals, firms, and corporations; to seek and point out new opportunities for profitable efforts; to create and develop a market for listing, exchanging, buying and selling Negro securities; to help make contacts and connections that are mutually profitable; to organize our individual and corporate interests so that they will function in such a way as to bring about a new birth of confidence and assure economic independence; to create and propagate a nation-wide spirit of coöperation, coördination and consolidation; to give the largest possible opportunities for participation in directing, managing, and controlling corporate investments, as well as sharing fully in their profits; and to foster and advance by every legitimate means consistent with good business, the financial and commercial development of Negroes.

## Government and Public Affairs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### FACTS ABOUT SAN FRANCISCO'S ALIEN POPULATION AS GLEANED FROM THE POLL TAX REGISTRATION OF 1921<sup>1</sup>

WALTER G. BEACH

THE ALIEN Poll Tax law was adopted by the California legislature in 1921. It provided for the payment of an annual poll tax of "ten dollars by every alien male inhabitant of the State over 21 and under 60 years of age, except paupers, idiots and insane people." To make possible the collection of the tax, alien males between the specified ages were to register annually before proper officers in the county in which they resided or, if employed elsewhere, in the county in which they were employed. The registration required the answering of a series of questions set by the law.

The first registration was to be completed by July 31, 1921, and the tax was to be collected between August 1 and July 31 of the same year. Registering aliens were to give information in regard to age, residence, country of nativity, period of residence in California, whether citizenship had been applied for, and some other similar facts. The alien was required to sign his own name if able to write in English or in a foreign language; if unable to write, a thumb print was to be taken.

Soon after the passage of the law its constitutionality was attacked. Two test cases<sup>2</sup> came before the Supreme Court of California, one involving a Japanese, the other a Mexican. In both cases the law was declared void. The first applied to alien Japanese only and rested upon the treaty of 1911 between the United States and Japan, which provided that "citizens or subjects of each of the parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same rights and privileges as are granted to native citizens or subjects." The second case

held the law to be void in regard to all alien inhabitants of the State in that it denied "to persons within the jurisdiction of the State the equal protection of the laws, in violation of section 1, Article 14, of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The short life of the law brought into existence affidavits for one year only, and these are probably a somewhat incomplete enumeration of the aliens covered by the law. Evidently the law was aimed at the Japanese; and many aliens of other nationalities are known not to have registered. Nevertheless it seems probable that registration was sufficiently general to be of real value as a source of population information, and that the facts stated in this single year's registration (the summer of 1921) throw considerable light upon the alien population of California. With the aid of a number of graduate students at Stanford University, the writer has undertaken to tabulate and classify the more important facts contained in the affidavits for the single city of San Francisco. The following tables are the result.

The questions asked in the affidavits of registrations limit the information which can be discovered, only certain of these questions being of value as a basis of general knowledge in regard to the alien population. The following are the facts which it has been possible to classify: nativity; age; whether employed or not; kind of employment, and whether by self or other; length of residence in California; whether application for citizenship has been made; literacy (the basis for judging this being ability to sign the affidavit). The information applies only to males between the ages of 21 and 60 years. Finally, it is neces-

<sup>1</sup> 1921 Calif. Statutes, Chap. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Ex parte Terui, 200 Pac. 954 and ex parte Kotta, 200 Pac. 957.



sary to state that it seemed best to classify together certain nationalities because of very small numbers or other apparent reasons. Thus the aliens from the Balkan nationalities were thrown together except for the Greeks whose large numbers made it wise to classify them separately. Belgium and Holland were united; also Spain and Portugal; and in the same way the three Scandinavian countries. It seemed best to keep Canada separate from the rest of the British Colonies. Other modifications are noted in the tables.

Altogether 31,155 alien males between 21 and 60 years of age were tabulated, a small additional number (less than 100) being rejected because the affidavits were so defective or illegible as to make it impossible to use them.

In Table I this total (31,155) is arranged by nationalities. The Italians show much the largest number (6,295), followed by the Chinese (4,710); the Japanese are third, but their number is only 40% of the Italians. Germans, Scandinavians, and Greeks follow in the order named. If the "British Colonies" and "Canada" be added to the numbers for England (including Scotland and Wales) and Ireland the total (2,915) would place this combined group (Great Britain) third on the list.

Table I gives, also, such information as is found in the affidavits in regard to illiteracy. Ability to sign his name was taken as indicating literacy. If the signature was distinctly foreign (in script) it was considered as evidence of lack of knowledge of English, but not of illiteracy in general; though this tabulation is of somewhat lessened value, in part because of the difficulty of judging from the signature alone, it affects only a few persons. But inability to do more than make one's mark or thumbprint is, of course, evidence of illiteracy.

On this basis slightly over eighty-eight per cent may be described as literate in English, eight and one-half per cent are literate in some language but not in English, and slightly less than three per cent are totally illiterate. In comparing this result with what is known about the literacy of aliens in the United States as a whole, it is to be remembered that the population considered here is made up of males only, and is between the ages of 21 and 60.

As to nationalities represented, the highest illiteracy is found among the Spanish-Portuguese (11%), the Italians (5%), the Greeks (5%), and the Chinese (2.6%); while many other groups, such as those from Switzerland, Belgium-Holland, Germany, Japan, Canada, England, the Scandinavian countries, show practically no illiteracy at all. Considering lump numbers the nationalities in which male adult illiteracy points to the need of education are the Spanish-Portuguese, Greeks, Italians, Chinese, and Russians.

TABLE I.  
NATIONALITY AND LITERACY

Nationality	Total No.	White Eng-lish	Other Lan-guage	Illiterate	Un-signed
Austria-Hungary	1,321	1,247	51	17	6
Balkans	423	375	20	14	14
Belgium-Holland	263	252	7	1	3
British Colonies	382	357	14	11	0
Canada	456	452	2	2	0
China	4,710	2,956	1,562	177	15
England (1)	1,505	1,498	1	5	1
France	865	826	33	6	0
Germany	2,078	2,024	46	2	6
Greece	1,968	1,693	182	89	4
Ireland	572	566	3	2	1
Italy	6,295	5,436	518	323	18
Japan	2,436	2,403	24	1	8
Mexico	968	912	39	17	0
Philippine Islands	212	200	0	12	0
Russia (2)	1,887	1,774	60	43	10
Scandinavia	2,001	1,971	10	4	16
South and Cen. America	829	799	19	5	6
Spain-Portugal	1,160	998	33	129	0
Switzerland	470	458	10	0	2
Turkey (3)	354	312	22	18	2
TOTAL	31,155	27,509	2,656	878	112

(1) Includes England, Scotland and Wales.

(2) Russia as before the War.

(3) Egypt and Syria included.

The ages of aliens at the date of registration is shown in Table II. For convenience these have been thrown into age-groups of 5 year periods beginning with 21 years. The largest number in a single age-group is found in the ages 31 to 35 (6004), and the second largest number (5862) is found in ages 36 to 40. The Chinese form a notable exception to the general trend: much the largest number of this nationality (1201, which is more than one quarter of their total number) is in the oldest age period (51-60), the next largest numbers (743 and 742) being in the two earliest age-periods. It is to be noted also that in general the so-called "older (European) immi-

gration" nationalities tend to have a somewhat larger proportion in the older age periods as compared with the nationalities of both the "newer immigration" and the Mexicans and Japanese whose numbers are heavier in the earlier and middle age periods. The general trend of all groups, however, (except the Chinese) is to decline in numbers in the late age periods.

this high rate of Scandinavian unemployment. In general it should be remembered also that the year 1921 was a year of very great unemployment. Of those who stated the character of their employment 24% were common laborers. The next largest employment group was that of "restaurant help" (including cooks as well as waiters and dishwashers).

TABLE II.—AGE GROUPS

NATIONALITY	TOTAL	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60
Austria-Hungary.....	1,321	107	225	316	275	190	123	85
Balkans.....	423	34	99	104	82	45	35	24
Belgium-Holland.....	263	23	49	53	46	53	20	19
British Colonies.....	382	59	65	78	74	48	29	29
Canada.....	456	43	62	72	90	76	46	67
China.....	4,710	743	742	627	514	424	459	1,201
England (1).....	1,505	121	160	224	345	245	190	220
France.....	865	62	99	136	172	169	116	111
Germany.....	2,078	111	288	435	419	322	216	287
Greece.....	1,968	233	453	425	387	244	149	77
Ireland.....	572	41	51	93	148	103	74	62
Italy.....	6,295	646	1,019	1,320	1,297	897	584	532
Japan.....	2,436	226	235	616	559	425	213	162
Mexico.....	968	291	197	163	134	77	62	44
Philippine Islands.....	212	62	47	47	34	11	9	2
Russia (2).....	1,887	207	355	383	394	290	151	107
Scandinavia.....	2,001	228	329	410	425	286	151	172
South and Central America.....	829	250	220	114	99	58	49	39
Spain-Portugal.....	1,160	206	224	221	212	134	94	69
Switzerland.....	470	59	80	100	89	49	49	44
Turkey (3).....	354	50	87	67	67	38	21	24
TOTAL.....	31,155	3,802	5,086	6,004	5,862	4,184	2,840	3,377

(1) England, Scotland and Wales.

(2) Russia before the War.

(3) Egypt and Syria included.

Table III gives the facts about employment. Deducting from the total number those who did not specify whether they were employed or not, it is found that 27% were not employed. Of different groups from one-third to two-fifths of those from Turkey, Spain-Portugal, Belgium-Holland, Mexico, Scandinavia, South and Central America, Russia, and Ireland were unemployed. So also were over one-fourth of the Germans, one-fourth of the Canadians, and the Chinese, one-fifth of the English, French, Greeks, and Italians, while only one-ninth of the Japanese were without employment. The greatest per cent of unemployment (42%) existed among the Scandinavians. The seriously unsettled labor conditions in shipping, and the fact that 23% of the Scandinavians were listed as seamen and long-shoremen, is to be borne in mind in interpreting

Nationalities show some occupational preferences: Greeks and other Balkan nationalities seem given to restaurant work; one-third of the Chinese are listed as merchants; fifty per cent of the Philippine group are seamen. Many Japanese, Chinese, and French were employed in laundry work; English and Scandinavians were prominent in construction work; while Italians flocked to the bootblacking business.

Table IV records the length of residence in California. In general about ten per cent failed to answer this question. The Chinese were conspicuous in this failure, forty per cent making no answer. One-fifth of those Chinese who answered the question had been in California 30 years, and one-third had been here 20 years. Considering all nationalities, the residence period of the largest number was 10 years, the next largest



TABLE III.—EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT	NATIONALITY	Austria-Hungary	Balkans	Belgium-Holland	British Colonies	Canada	China	England	France	Germany	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Japan	Mexico	Philippine Islands	Russia	Scandinavia	So. & Cent. America	Spain-Portugal	Switzerland	Turkey	Total
TOTAL		1,321	423	263	382	456	4,710	1,505	865	2,078	1,968	572	6,295	2,436	968	212	1,887	2,001	829	1,160	470	354	31,155
Unemployed		357	125	98	111	115	1,103	389	177	617	540	202	1,343	268	327	40	717	818	339	400	147	120	8,353
Unspecified		44	10	5	19	12	24	36	26	88	83	35	123	122	30	12	54	48	47	34	4	5	860
Laborers		289	56	47	63	59	531	279	198	366	340	126	2,669	550	245	22	315	313	173	468	99	55	7,263
Bakers		40	7	5	3	5	1	10	30	114	18	2	103	3	8	0	14	29	7	14	15	2	430
Barbers		17	3	0	2	4	7	7	2	11	47	1	86	16	5	0	20	4	2	7	3	6	250
Bootblacks		3	1	1	2	0	0	3	0	1	20	1	164	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	1	202
Builders		58	16	13	20	35	33	120	21	75	25	25	213	12	21	1	81	140	25	8	13	6	961
Clerks		33	14	14	22	40	225	138	23	86	58	33	152	134	37	1	62	41	43	17	12	11	1,196
Farmers		4	1	0	3	2	59	3	8	5	1	2	86	12	1	0	5	4	1	11	14	2	224
Grocers		3	2	0	1	4	108	9	4	31	80	5	67	2	1	0	7	3	1	1	5	9	343
Hotel		19	8	6	5	3	56	38	71	25	41	10	72	86	11	1	21	9	9	5	15	8	519
Laundrymen		5	2	1	0	5	117	1	97	3	13	5	19	244	3	0	4	8	2	24	1	3	557
Mechanics		49	21	12	21	35	33	107	28	128	17	23	200	50	24	0	54	66	24	27	29	4	952
Merchants		52	21	14	8	20	1,568	57	45	66	126	15	289	236	29	0	129	33	12	41	25	27	2,813
Professions		28	10	9	29	33	158	70	15	65	17	15	132	98	21	0	90	51	30	12	28	9	920
Railways		29	6	3	8	6	20	40	5	31	34	37	80	11	11	3	22	23	8	16	8	6	427
Restaurant Owners		59	20	4	3	3	5	11	12	102	126	0	78	39	11	1	44	23	11	15	11	18	596
Restaurant help		186	114	7	22	15	391	35	94	117	344	8	228	219	37	6	47	74	38	44	47	52	2,125
Salesmen		30	6	6	11	29	128	58	10	53	20	23	76	180	14	1	44	13	15	3	8	10	738
Seamen		29	6	44	35	16	60	78	12	149	96	30	42	5	118	119	213	477	141	111	17	13	1,810
Shoemakers		11	3	0	0	2	14	2	2	0	3	2	65	20	2	0	16	2	1	2	1	2	150
Superintendents		10	4	3	3	8	5	21	4	20	9	3	29	2	1	0	15	4	5	3	1	1	160
Tailors		35	10	1	3	1	47	20	14	18	13	1	37	66	3	0	158	28	8	6	3	18	490
Unclassified		4	3	2	5	9	96	24	11	68	41	12	205	64	3	5	15	8	23	7	8	7	620
Employed by Self		167	47	15	30	40	640	155	110	218	402	30	1,039	466	44	3	312	90	21	41	35	71	3,976
Employed by Others		809	230	134	216	278	2,363	912	548	1,225	925	307	3,456	1,513	592	163	860	1,029	433	682	272	147	17,094

15 years. Forty per cent had been in California for only six years or less, that is, they had come to the state after the opening of the war in Europe, leaving sixty per cent who had come to the state before the beginning of the war. Of the Japanese about one-third had been in Cali-

fornia 15 years, while one-fifth had been here 20 years. The strikingly restrictive effect upon Japanese immigration which resulted from the establishment of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the United States and Japan in 1907, is clearly indicated in these figures.

TABLE IV.  
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CALIFORNIA

NATIONALITY	Total	Less than 1 Yr.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.	5 Yrs.	6 Yrs.	8 Yrs.	10 Yrs.	15 Yrs.	20 Yrs.	30 Yrs.	Total Answering	Not Answering
Austria-Hungary	1,321	62	69	53	69	53	57	109	178	310	209	80	19	1,268	53
Balkans	423	38	29	16	11	20	27	41	52	84	58	28	7	411	12
Belgium-Holland	263	31	23	32	28	25	17	12	23	29	20	7	3	250	13
British Colonies	382	61	35	24	16	12	27	37	33	72	36	14	3	370	12
Canada	456	35	46	34	27	23	28	37	38	52	53	43	20	436	20
China	4,710	170	70	160	121	92	107	168	205	399	366	349	592	2,799	1,911
England	1,505	104	138	140	86	68	71	128	142	236	183	104	38	1,438	67
France	865	38	59	75	31	33	32	43	82	157	149	90	37	826	39
Germany	2,078	62	51	71	65	121	123	237	281	406	282	185	102	1,986	92
Greece	1,968	127	78	78	83	79	123	254	264	430	339	65	4	1,924	44
Ireland	572	47	49	26	25	27	34	43	54	103	90	42	28	568	4
Italy	6,295	501	287	137	128	112	147	513	883	1,391	1,136	607	173	6,015	280
Japan	2,436	53	47	73	71	76	90	130	136	275	730	495	105	2,281	155
Mexico	968	39	128	122	80	78	72	71	77	126	65	37	24	919	49
Philippine Islands	212	11	30	25	28	24	13	19	12	23	14	5	4	208	4
Russia	1,887	141	115	114	127	109	134	211	197	337	204	88	19	1,796	91
Scandinavia	2,001	147	155	153	154	130	125	182	166	276	241	140	42	1,911	90
South and Cen. America	829	75	119	85	91	62	39	58	65	80	62	56	9	801	28
Spain-Portugal	1,160	69	110	70	81	73	74	128	137	230	114	30	9	1,125	35
Switzerland	470	39	46	26	38	11	13	47	40	97	54	32	17	460	10
Turkey	354	39	27	16	21	17	21	45	39	66	38	19	2	350	4
TOTAL	31,155	1,889	1,711	1,530	1,391	1,245	1,374	2,513	3,094	5,179	4,443	2,516	1,257	28,142	3,013

Table V is a record of the applications for naturalization. Each alien was required to state whether he had applied for naturalization, and if so, when. The Chinese and Japanese did not reply to this question, since they are excluded from naturalization by law. Of the remaining nationalities two-thirds had failed to make the application. Groups in which 50 per cent or

more had made application were Austria-Hungary, Belgium-Holland, Germany, Scandinavia, England, and Ireland; While Greece shows only 29%, Italy 21%; Spain-Portugal, 24%; Mexico, 16%. The year of greatest application was 1919, indicating a rush for naturalization as soon as the closing of the war made the way clear.

TABLE V.  
APPLICATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

NATIONALITY	Total	Application		DATE OF APPLICATION										Unspec-ified
		Not Made	Made	Before War	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921		
Austria-Hungary.....	1,321	590	703	95	43	30	80	70	74	117	92	102	28	
Balkans.....	423	211	203	40	12	8	17	22	14	26	39	25	9	
Belgium-Holland.....	263	92	158	8	1	9	5	20	36	41	22	16	13	
British Colonies.....	382	200	174	11	3	9	12	23	28	32	26	30	8	
Canada.....	456	250	188	19	2	9	9	25	27	47	21	29	18	
China.....	4,710	4,710	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
England.....	1,505	705	751	64	22	30	46	91	105	173	107	113	49	
France.....	865	405	384	27	16	10	25	63	61	65	65	52	76	
Germany.....	2,078	668	1,355	217	77	96	122	192	100	241	169	141	55	
Greece.....	1,968	1,354	582	68	23	25	36	52	56	135	99	88	32	
Ireland.....	572	204	351	41	14	16	19	38	46	64	48	65	17	
Italy.....	6,295	4,869	1,328	105	75	80	83	216	147	238	187	197	98	
Japan.....	2,436	2,436	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
Mexico.....	968	727	170	9	2	4	4	6	13	45	38	49	71	
Philippine Islands.....	212	189	18	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	9	5	
Russia.....	1,887	895	842	75	40	48	70	65	75	183	134	152	150	
Scandinavia.....	2,001	832	1,134	100	39	56	67	113	191	244	175	149	35	
South and Cent. America.....	829	505	310	23	3	9	7	16	32	98	66	56	14	
Spain-Portugal.....	1,160	853	274	28	5	6	21	19	36	63	55	41	33	
Switzerland.....	470	236	213	38	12	15	14	14	25	40	33	22	21	
Turkey.....	354	199	149	12	4	6	3	12	22	32	28	30	6	
TOTAL.....	31,155	21,130	9,287	983	393	466	640	1,058	1,089	1,885	1,407	1,366	738	

On the whole as regards nationalities, groups which show a low per cent of application for citizenship show a high per cent of illiteracy; that is, there is a definite correlation between illiteracy and failure to apply for naturalization, though it is not clear in every instance. This is indicated in the following table:

TABLE VI

Nationality	Percent Illiteracy	Percent Naturalization Application
Spain-Portugal .....	11.	24.
Italy .....	5.	21.
Greece .....	5.	29.
Germany .....	0.0	66.
Austria-Hungary .....	0.1	54.
England .....	0.03	54.
Switzerland .....	0.0	47.



## DEMAGOGUE AND STATESMAN: FOUR MEASURES

ANGUS WILTON McLEAN

ONE OF THE testing points of democracy is its ability to provide and follow able leadership and to discriminate between the constructive leader and the superficial demagogue. The deficiencies of many of our experiments in state and local government have been measured directly in proportion to the amount of demagogic leadership which has prevailed. It is a source of gratification that in North Carolina the demagogue has never found a topsoil or subsoil in which to grow and flourish. This is a fact of the first importance, but one which reminds us all the more to keep on distinguishing between the good public official and the selfish demagogue. I venture to say that four simple tests, applied to public servant or demagogue may yield practical results in the measurement of any group of officials. These simple tests include courage, intelligence, self-sacrifice, public judgment and guidance.

*Courage:* A good public official must have courage. By courage is meant not only the ability to espouse an unpopular cause against all sorts of violent, illogical opposition: it means also the quality of speaking openly and frankly against a popular cause when that cause seems to have reached the limits of common sense and normal development. It is a much more difficult and a more disastrous policy politically to oppose any movement when it has gained momentum; to head it off or confine it within actual, productive limits. The demagogue never attempts it. He follows the crowd intent upon making it bear him aloft and proclaim him a hero. Incidentally, he goes down to utter oblivion with the same halo of self-righteousness that men of his class always affect but never achieve.

*Intelligence:* A good public official must be intelligent. By intelligent I do not mean education or "book larnin'" alone, but the liberal meaning of readiness of comprehension in all situations large or small. In the late campaign one of the best introductions I received was made by an old farmer who made no pretense at public speaking or even at speaking his mother tongue half decently. "Friends," said he, "I want to introduce to you Mr. McLean who is running for Governor. He is just a common every day farmer like we are." And he sat down. Somehow I warmed to such an introduction. I call it an intelligent one. He established between me and my audience of farmers a bond of sympathy, of common understanding that no flowery speech ever could

have done. Yet many more learned would have been looking not at what the old farmer said, but the way he said it. And they would have missed the human quality entirely.

*Self-sacrifice:* The sincere public official must be possessed of the spirit of self-sacrifice. The demagogue never is. He may talk most glibly about it, but he is never willing to jeopardize his own future to lead the people into new paths of thinking and feeling. There have been few high public officials of this State who have not made tremendous sacrifice for the office to which they were elected. They have sacrificed their health and strength; some have served at serious financial loss, while many suffered personal indignities that cut short brilliant and honorable careers. This was due in large measure to the failure of the citizenry to understand that public service is not all private advancement or personal glory. It involves public responsibility and great personal sacrifice. The demagogue, of course, never looks upon public office in any such light. Yet no true public official can look upon public office other than a period of devotion to duty and of surrender to the principles of self-sacrifice. If he is unwilling to do this, he is not a public servant but a public liability.

*Public Judgment and Guidance:* These are some of the ways in which we may distinguish the sincere public official from the vaporous demagogue. There is another—a most infallible and decisive one: public judgment. Instinctively we

feel, although we may lack the power of full expression, what is inherently good and what is inherently bad. The heart of the masses is rhythmic and sound. Finer than that, it is responsive. It is the duty of the honest public official, as I see it,—indeed the duty of every

person and organization engaged in social work—to catch the inspiration of the masses and to give it wholesome, hopeful expression and direction. In the long run public judgment, matured and directed by good leadership, is a fine index for public guidance.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

If we can organize the existing "Tendencies toward Peace" as fully as the tendencies toward future wars are organized, the hardest task of this generation will be accomplished, writes C. Delisle Burns in the September-October *American Review*. He sees three spheres of work—governmental policy, education, and labor organization—open to the efforts of those who are trying to abolish war. The League of Nations is the natural outcome of the modern interdependence of government; groups of educators all over the world are seeking a reorientation of the intellect in social and political affairs; and as the workers come into power they will see to it that universal coöperation takes the place of competition. These three forces, he says, can make peace inevitable.

\* \* \*

In thus educating the world for peace the available moral leadership of America will have to be called out. With Canada and the other white parts of the British Empire, says W. B. Smith in a thoughtful paper from the November *Educational Review*, a coöperative scheme can be worked out that shall operate under these principles: persistent advertising, no weakening of the defensive arm, international control of competition for raw materials, a workable World Court, and a revision of all text books that deal with collective social activities. "We Must Take Higher Ground" in the struggle for life by ensuring that the best man, morally and intellectually, shall be actually the fittest to survive.

\* \* \*

Few of our long-established institutions are in these days granted immunity from the iconoclast by reason of their age. "Trial by Jury" comes under the searching eye of Harry Elmer Barnes in the December *American Mercury* and gets rather the worst of it. He traces the clumsy

adaptation of the system from its non-judicial beginnings, argues its futility and inadequacy in the procedure of a trial from the impanelling of the jury to the rendering of the verdict, and shows why colorless liars and illiterates are commonly accepted for duty. Modern criminology is a science in which the trained psychiatrist should take the place of the ordinary man and the ordinary lawyer as well; its field is the prevention and not the attempted "cure" of crime.

\* \* \*

This last contention is elaborated by Professor Barnes in a historical account of "The Crime Complex" appearing in *Current History* for December. First reviewing the various attitudes toward crime from the old supernatural and metaphysical notions to the interpretation of the psychiatrist that takes into account all the inescapable influences acting on the criminal, he then considers the doctrine of punishment as it has evolved into the most advanced idea of segregating the incurables and attempting the reform, by education, psychiatric treatment, and parole, of those whose biological or social defects can be removed. The new penology will furnish a surer protection to society than the old when our system of jurisprudence is revised to accord with modern scientific knowledge.

\* \* \*

Neitzsche in his "Genealogy of Morals" lists no less than twelve reasons that have been advanced for the punishment of criminals. Of these Charles Kassel accepts, in the leading article of the October *South Atlantic Quarterly*, the deterrent effect on others as the chief argument of those who uphold capital punishment, and contends from a study of several famous hangings and the testimony of Dickens, Justin McCarthy, and Havelock Ellis that it fails utterly to accom-



plish that end. Executions in public have a positively immoral effect; in secret they would be indefensible even by our callous consciences; and we may be driven at length to putting criminals to death merely because it is a good way of being rid of them.

\* \* \*

The presence of more than a million drug addicts in this country has shown that this evil cannot be stamped out by forbidding the importation of narcotics, as we have done, but only by restricting the cultivation of plants from which they are made. *Are We Our Brothers' Keepers?* asks Constantine Drexel in the November *Harper's*, and answers her question by recounting the honorable record of the United States with regard to the use of drugs in the Philippines. An advisory committee of the League of Nations on traffic in opium, created through the insistence of a Washington woman and containing five American members, held a meeting at Geneva in November. The conference has been pledged to the principle of limiting the production of narcotics to the strictly medicinal and scientific needs of the world, but the revenues that several Eastern countries derive from the poppy will make its complete success difficult. . . . Ellen M. La Motte also writes of the problems before this conference in "Opium at Geneva" from the *Survey* of November 15.

\* \* \*

"Going to School for Peace" is what Will Irwin calls the Institute for a Christian Basis of World Relations, in which a hundred and fifty women church and social workers from half a dozen countries met at Vassar last summer to talk about the causes of inter-racial friction and its remedies. It was an inspiring sort of education for most of them, he says in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for November, and they put to shame a good many conferences of the opposite sex by the earnestness, hard work, and lack of dogmatism with which they attacked in round-table sessions the various problems of present-day international relations.

Two aspects of "The Psychology of Voting" are considered acutely and somewhat sardonically by Frank Kent and Harford Powel, Jr., in the

December *Forum*. "Scare 'Em"—meaning the electorate—says Mr. Kent, if you are a campaign manager with the true interests of your candidate at heart. The American public does not go to the polls with intelligent convictions; their minds are made up either by habit or the inescapable propaganda of the daily press, and the so-called independent is usually swayed by fear into voting *against* a man rather than by reason into voting *for* his opponent. Mr. Powell discourses amusingly on the bucolic proficiencies that are held to be necessary in a candidate, who is presumed to know his way around an executive office if he has been previously familiar with a barnyard. Even Al Smith, avers the writer, could be quickly made over into the nostalgic scion of an old agricultural stock by a competent publicity man.

\* \* \*

The proportion of women voters to men voters in New York State varies, by counties, from 95% to 39%. In the November *Scribner's* Sarah Schuyler Butler finds that these "Women Who Do Not Vote" have created two sets of problems—rural and urban. For the country precincts transportation must be provided, and in the cities the foreign-born woman must be interested by removing her traditional distrust of government, and the complacency and superiority of the well-to-do citizen must be broken through. Women voters cannot be effectively organized by men; leaders of their own sex are needed.

\* \* \*

A refreshing if rather ironical comment on an old truth is made by James M. Cain in the *American Mercury* for November. Avowing himself incompetent to appraise the political results of the extended suffrage, he casts his eye over the extrinsic aspects of the "Politician: Female" and observes that in the mass she has made herself not a little ridiculous. Woman, he says, shines best as a solo instrument; her appeal is to the imagination, with something of the exotic and even sinister about it; she is effective in roles directly related to the business of living itself. But in debate, at committee meetings, squabbling over the drab details of a welfare bill, talking about "we women" and their rights, the glamor

fades out and she becomes both ineffectual and something less than her real self. Woman's sphere is a good deal wider than that.

\* \* \*

A good many competent observers have seen what is to be virtually a new world rising out of the recent adoption, by the Fifth Assembly of the League, of the protocol for international disarmament and arbitration. In the *Survey Graphic* for November 1 Cornelia Stratton Porter, who was present at the sessions, and James T. Shotwell, who helped to formulate the American plan which the League largely took over, give their impressions not only of the frank exchanges of opinion which they witnessed but of the promise for a real community of nations that the altered attitude of the delegates begins to reveal.

\* \* \*

The wisdom of establishing state constabularies remains a disputed question in various parts of the country. In the past three years New Jersey has become the sixteenth state to maintain such a system, improvements have been effected in the organizations of Connecticut, New York, Colorado, and Idaho, and in other states governor's messages and public discussion, pro and con, indicate widespread interest in the subject. Milton Conover discusses these "State Police Developments: 1921-1924" in the *American Political Science Review* for November, together with the possibilities of a national police bureau for the identification and classification of criminals.

City managers have now been managing for eleven years in several hundred municipalities. The charters under which they function vary greatly, however, in the methods of their choice, the departments they administer, the selection of subordinate officials, and the guarantees for ultimate popular control, says Wylie Kilpatrick in "City Manager Charters Analysed" from the *American City Magazine* for November. The prevailing political theories of different parts of the country are also reflected in the provisions of many charters. . . . A code of ethics for city managers, recently adopted by their International Association, is quoted on Page 422. It contains thirteen standards of conduct which aim to maintain the work on a genuine professional plane.

\* \* \*

In the same number Ralph Hayes, Director of the New York Community Trust, explains "Changing the Use of Public Property" in the form of funds left for specific purposes which have become antiquated. Revision of their use by statute entails a long, expensive, and uncertain process; but some fifty cities have now adopted the device of a community trust, under which endowments are made subject to alteration by an appointive board of citizens, called the Distribution Committee, if their original purposes become impossible or impracticable to carry out. The committee supervises annually the use of income from trust funds, but amends the terms of the grant only if further expenditure is seen to be clearly unwise.



## Social Industrial Relationships

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE PROBLEM OF A JUST WAGE

ELLERY F. REED

NO OBJECTIVE standard or set of principles by which to determine a just or fair wage has been worked out for the modern period. In medieval times the problem was regarded as simple. A just wage or price for the product of the laborer was considered as that which would enable him to maintain his family according to the standards of his social class. His social status and standards of life were rigidly prescribed by social custom.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the democratic movement and the Classical Economists, the medieval standard of wages was replaced by the *laissez faire* theory. Free competition, demand and supply, it was argued, would automatically solve the problem and every man would get what his services were worth. But this classical theory postulates a condition of free and equal competition in which the bargaining power of the various agents of production is affected only by the existing conditions of supply and demand.

The modern situation is more accurately described by the theory that wages are determined within certain limits by the relative bargaining power of the parties to the wage contract. This bargaining power is far from being altogether a matter of natural supply and demand, and consequently is no guarantee of a just wage. Bargaining power is largely affected by the degree or amount of organization, monopoly, financial resources, control of the press, public opinion, courts, laws and administrative officials. In short, wages are determined by actual or potential struggle in which the battle is to the strong, and the strong owe their strength not necessarily to superior qualities but to social, financial and

political advantage which arises all too frequently from unequal opportunity and unscrupulous policy. It follows that, in the economic field as in others, the old axiom holds true that "might does not make right."

The general recognition of the ethical and social failure of the *laissez faire* principle is evidenced by the adoption of minimum wage laws and other legislation for the protection of labor, particularly of women and children engaged in industry. The existence of numerous boards of arbitration and conciliation is further evidence that the *laissez faire* philosophy is no longer seriously considered as an adequate principle of social justice and well-being.

In recent years the "living wage" has most often been regarded as a standard of justice. This standard owes its popularity, no doubt, to the fact that it represents a minimum demand, the rightness and moderation of which must be conceded by all. It is likewise significant that in many cases the application of such a standard would mean a substantial increase for the worker, and it has consequently been urged with great effectiveness.

But the ideal of the "living wage" is far from offering a satisfactory solution of the problem of a just wage. As this standard is actually applied by wage boards and other similar bodies it commonly results in a wage so low as to require the most severe and penurious economy and adequate only for the meagerest and narrowest of lives. Various church bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, have asserted that the honest laborer has a right to more than a bare living wage. And, indeed, why should a mere living wage be re-

garded as just or satisfactory for the laboring class when it is not so regarded for the other classes of society.

Another criterion of the just wage is payment according to value produced. This would no doubt be generally accepted in theory but in practice it has been impossible to know, or figure by the most refined systems of accounting, how much value is produced by a given worker. In most cases, not even a plausible estimate can be made on this basis.

No logical principle has as yet been found which will serve as a standard of justice. The situation is stated by Carleton as follows:

"No court of arbitration or board of conciliation has as yet offered any definite and scientific formula by means of which disputes as to wages or conditions of labor may be adjusted. Nothing has been discovered to replace the discarded standard of medievalism or the automatic process of the *laissez faire* system. The finding of a board of arbitration is merely a compromise which removes the immediate difficulty; the root of the matter is never laid bare. An anxious public is not given any exact data; no definite method of procedure is presented which may be used as a basis for the work of other boards which may be organized at some future date. Much comparative data is accumulated but the crux of the difficulty still remains—our concept of a fair wage is yet very elusive and indefinite."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the reason why this problem stands unsolved is that economic theory has not fully recognized that certain characteristics are possessed by the worker in common with the other partners in production. There has, therefore, been no effective basis for comparison of the income of the laborer with that of the other agents of production. It has been commonly conceded that certain characteristics and functions are common to the landlord, capitalist and enterpriser, but these same characteristics and functions have not been acknowledged in the laborer. The landlord, for example, is admittedly a close relative to the capitalist, for the only practical difference is that he has chosen to invest his capital in land. The capitalist in turn differs from the simple enterpriser only in the lesser degree of financial

risk which he assumes. All three; landlord, capitalist and enterpriser, invest capital and expect to receive it back again with a certain surplus variously called rent, interest and profit.

But labor has been placed by itself, peculiar, and not comparable to the other three partners. According to orthodox theory, labor, as such, represents no investment of capital. It is asserted simply that the worker contributes productive effort and receives wages.

The suggestion is here offered that the orthodox conception of labor has not been based on an adequate analysis of the nature and functions of labor and that consequently there has been no comparative basis for determining a just wage. The thesis is that the worker is not an unrelated partner in production but rather that he is a unique combination of the capitalist, enterpriser, and landlord.

The first proposition is that the laborer is a capitalist. A standard definition of capital designates it as the product of past industry used in further production. If this definition is applied to the laborer, he, himself, is seen to become a form of capital, for he is the product of past industry, and he is used in further production. Every child reared to maturity represents a large investment of care and effort on the part of parents, teachers, and society at large. He also represents the expenditure of past effort on his own behalf for there is no life without effort, and there is certainly no development without effort. It follows that the laborer represents in his body, his education, character and skill a considerable investment by himself, his parents and the public. When the child reaches maturity the laws of society make him a present of himself,—in other words he becomes his own boss. He is thus presented with a more or less considerable amount of capital invested in him during his years of minority, which he possesses from thence forth in his own right. Any income which he can command in return for the investment or use of that capital—we shall call it *human capital*—is regarded as his own. The worker, in so far as he devotes his body and mind; his time, presence, strength and skill to a productive enterprise, is thereby and in such measure investing his store of *human capital*. The return for this peculiarly vital investment is commonly known as wages.

<sup>1</sup> Carleton, F. T., *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, 1920, Revised Edition, Page 211.



This brings us again to the question of what constitutes a just wage. All things, including ethical and moral standards, are relative, and justice in the matter of wages is relative. The total income produced by industry should be divided among the different agents of production according to the same principles of remuneration, providing, of course, that their functions are sufficiently alike to make possible the application of the same principles. Each of the four agents (i.e. the personal representatives of the four factors,) of production is human, and if it can be shown that they perform comparable functions, the same principles of income not only can, but ought to be applied to all alike. The purpose of this paper is to show that the laborer is performing functions essentially similar to those of the landlord, capitalist and enterpriser, and that consequently his income should be determined by the same principles as theirs.

To facilitate such a comparison the effort was begun in the above discussion to reduce the laborer to a common denominator with the landlord, capitalist and enterpriser. It was shown that the laborer, together with the other three agents of production, is working with or investing a form of capital. It remains to show that each, in greater or less degree, risks his capital, and that each form of capital has in it a large element of nature. In other words, the aim will be to show that the laborer is, in a very true sense, not only a capitalist, but also an enterpriser and a landlord.

It is commonly conceded that the enterpriser is not the only agent of production who exercises in some degree the function of risk taking. The capitalist and the landlord in lesser degrees each bear a risk of financial loss. But it has not been adequately appreciated that the laborer bears a heavy risk, a risk not of financial capital, but of his own *human capital*. It is often said that the laborer wants to share in the profits of industry but is unwilling to accept any of the risks and losses. Is this entirely true? Does he not already bear some of the most serious risks and losses of capital (*human capital*) known to industry?

The laborer bears the risk of complete loss of *human capital* through death. His family has been provided for, to some extent in a number of states through workingmen's compensation laws.

But this does not fully compensate the family, nor can it compensate the dead laborer. This complete loss of *human capital* is greater than the complete loss of financial capital. A man if compelled to choose between his money and his life will sacrifice his money and save his life. Landlords, capitalists and enterprisers in performing their functions run little risk of their *human capital*, in other words, theirs are not, ordinarily, dangerous occupations, but for the laborer in many industries there is considerable risk of life and limb. The Prudential Life Insurance Company in 1913 found that there were eight industries more hazardous than service in the United States Army. The number of deaths from industrial accidents in 1917 in the registration area of the United States was 53,544. This was a larger number than were killed in the army and navy of our country during the great war then in progress. Lesser injuries causing a disability of four weeks or more mount into the hundreds of thousands every year.

Besides the risk from accident the worker's *human capital* is subject to impairment from industrial diseases. Lead poisoning, miner's hookworm (ankystos-tomiasis) and tuberculosis are examples.

The laborer's capital in many cases is constantly in danger in so far as this capital consists in skill at his trade. At any time a new machine or process may be invented or a further division of labor take place which will render his skill obsolete and valueless. Laborers have thus paid one of the heaviest costs of progress.

Unemployment is another source of heavy loss to *human capital*. Every year brings its slack seasons, and every decade its years of depression.

The laborer thus not only invests the most vital and valuable kind of capital but he also bears heavy risks of the impairment or even the total loss of his capital. Indeed the risk element in his investment is so prominent that he may well be compared with his partner, the enterpriser, who has long been distinguished as the risk taker par-excellence. In a very real sense the laborer bears the more serious risk of the two.

Labor together with the other three agents in production thus both invests and risks capital.

The next question is, do all four agents depend upon and work with nature? Is each one, including labor, to some extent a landlord?

All forms of capital have in them a large element of nature. Machinery, for example, is made of materials furnished by nature. *Human capital* likewise has nature as its basis. Every man comes into the world endowed by nature with a certain equipment of potential talents and abilities. The grades of men are as widely varied by nature as the grades of land. Some are naturally great producers while others, like deserts, are heavy social liabilities. Some will repay intensive cultivation or training while others, the feeble-minded for example, will yield no returns for such efforts. The extent of a man's natural abilities, like land is definitely limited. His natural ability can not be increased, and in this respect differs from capital goods. All that can be done is to make the best of the mental and physical inheritance which nature has bequeathed to every man. The worker is thus in possession of certain natural resources. He is a landlord as well as a capitalist and enterpriser.

The laborer thus becomes the common denominator of the other three agents of production. A fundamental similarity of nature is revealed in all. A just reward for labor may now be determined by applying the same principles as apply to the income of the other partners in production.

To indicate more clearly what the application of such principles would mean in terms of wages it may be helpful to compare the laborer to a corporation or business firm, for instance a taxi company which combines in itself the four functions of the landlord, capitalist, enterpriser, and laborer. What are some of the principles by which a fair return for the taxi company is judged?

The company must have enough to pay for running expenses including wages, gasoline, oil, and repairs. Insurance and depreciation must be provided for, rent and interest must be paid, and last, but not least, it is regarded as fair that the company make a reasonable profit.

Applying the same standards to the income of the laborer, a just wage will include, first of all,

the worker's own running or living expenses, chiefly food, clothing and lodging with occasionally a doctor's or dentist's bill. The human machine ordinarily takes care of its own repairs, but not always, hence the doctor and dentist. Like the taxi company the laborer should also have enough income to provide for a reasonable amount of insurance.

It is especially important from the social standpoint that the laborer shall have enough income to cover the cost of depreciation or ageing of his human machine so that it may ultimately be replaced by a new one. This means that the laborer, while he himself is gradually wearing out, must have enough income to rear a family of about three children. The amount necessary to cover this last charge will vary greatly with the quality or value of the *human capital* to be replaced. If the father is an unskilled laborer the minimum cost of replacement may be merely enough to maintain the family in a state of physical health. If he is a highly trained professional man the cost of rearing children to a similar level will be comparatively great. It is a question of whether you are replacing Fords or Packards.<sup>2</sup>

The taxi company must provide for the payment of rent on its offices and garages. A part of this is ground rent and arises out of superiority of location. The amount of this ground rent is determined, theoretically, by the superior productiveness of this land for the taxi or any other business over marginal land, that is to say, over land so located that a taxi company could not afford to pay rent at all for its use.

There should, according to the same general principle of rent, be paid to many of the more able workers, a rent income. Training and other things being even, some workers are, by nature, more productive than others and it is regarded as just, both in the case of land and men that the owners of the more productive units should receive a certain surplus, which in the case of land is called rent. Justice commonly fails certain classes of workers at this point. Professors and school teachers, as a class, are a good example, although this rent element arising out of differences in natural ability no doubt plays a part in

<sup>2</sup> As this comparison indicates the term, laborer, is used in this paper in the broad sense as applying to mental as well as physical workers.



the varying incomes of different individuals within the profession. A good many common laborers probably represent marginal land and are not entitled to this rent element in income, but with other groups, as for example, in the case of able managers, it may rightly be regarded an important element in determining a just income. This rental income should be paid over and above the amount sufficient for living expenses for the worker and his family, such expenses to include doctor bills, insurance, and more or less education for the children, for all of these expenses are due the laborer in the same way they are due to the taxi company, as running expenses, insurance, and replacement charges.

Taxi companies in general must charge enough not only to cover running expenses, replacement charges and rent, but also to pay interest on capital employed. If a company supplies its own capital and can not earn interest on its investment it had better sell out and invest elsewhere. If it has borrowed capital and cannot pay the interest the company fails. This leads to the conclusion that *human capital* is entitled not only to full replacement but to a surplus comparable to interest. This may be conceived as bearing some fairly fixed proportion to the investment. The hard worker invests more than the shirker and, other things being even, the able or higher trained man more than his mediocre or uneducated brother.

If the worker of average ability and training honestly invests in useful enterprise all the *human capital* and ability that he has, this interest element should provide a margin of income above that required for running expenses and replacement charges, and thus make possible some of the recreations, joys, comforts and amenities of life so strongly demanded by human nature. It would also make it possible for the laborer to increase the store of *human capital* through self-improvement or better advantages for his children. It would mean also the possibility of savings and the increase of financial capital.

Unfortunately it is not absolutely necessary to pay such a surplus or interest on *human capital* in order that such capital shall be provided. In this it differs from other forms of capital. The difference is to be accounted for by the strength

of the sex and reproductive instincts which have always forced the poor and ignorant to go on multiplying even at a miserably low standard of life. But if there is to be any possibility of progress for the workers these income elements such as rent and interest which make possible a surplus over a bare living wage must be paid. It is not sufficient for the higher development of human life merely to allow the worker running expenses and replacement charges.

Like the taxi company, the laborer is entitled not only to interest but also to profits. Profits are a payment for the risks of capital and it has been shown that the investment of *human capital* in industry is accompanied by the most serious risks of its impairment or total loss. Out of its profits the taxi company should build up a capital surplus to meet possible losses. Likewise the laborer needs an element of income from which to provide a reserve fund to meet the losses of unemployment, death and other emergencies. Furthermore if the successful enterpriser in the taxi company is justly entitled to profits over and above what is required to maintain a capital surplus for the company, so also is the laborer entitled to comparable dividends as a compensation for his risks. The greater the hazards of accident, sickness, unemployment and displacement of skill, the larger should be this element of dividends or profits in the income of the worker.

A just wage for the laborer may thus be determined by the same principles by which we judge a just return for the other agents in production. The laborer is a unique capitalist, enterpriser, and landlord. Like the company which combines all three of these functions, he is entitled to running expenses, insurance and replacement charges, to interest and profits and to rent if he is above the margin in natural ability. This means that the honest and efficient laborer working as a member of a healthy, modern, economic society may justly claim remuneration sufficient not only for a bare living for himself and family, but also enough to enable him to carry a generous amount of insurance and to give his children a good education, enough adequately to meet the losses and to compensate for the grave risks which

modern industry requires the laborer to bear. He is justly entitled to all of these returns in proportion as he effectively fulfills his functions as a human embodiment of the capitalist, enterpriser and landlord.

This does not mean that in every case a just wage is a high wage. It does not mean that in any particular case a just wage can be precisely determined. It does, however, give a better basis for comparison of the rewards of the laborer with those of the capitalist, landlord and enterpriser. The so-called "living" or subsistence wage is, on

the basis of this comparison, shown to be a false and inadequate standard.

As the old order of *laissez faire* gives place to the new order of social control, concepts of justice will play an increasingly important part in the determination of wages. Employers, legislators and consumers are more and more searching for the path of justice in the maze of industrial relationships. That famous concept of the Classical Economists: "What is, is right," is today repudiated. The time is ripe for the application of the principles of justice.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Art is at bottom not divorced from labor: an artist is merely a worker who does his best under free conditions. The past function of the labor unions has been the paradoxical one of denying the service of labor to a capitalistic society; but they are now approaching a supremacy from which they can secure to every man who toils participation in the ends of his work. Hence the artists, who have hitherto held aloof from the economic phase of the struggle, find themselves directly concerned with the progress of the newer cultural phase. Teachers, musicians, and actors, who feel their social responsibilities and whose work combines manual with intellectual skill, are therefore joining the ranks of labor and so humanizing and liberalizing the future trends of the movement. Such is the thesis of Thomas H. Dickinson's exceedingly able presentation of "The Arts and the Unions" in the November-December *American Review*.

\* \* \*

The recent decision of the Supreme Court which vindicated jury trial in cases of contempt growing out of violated injunctions is seen as an epoch-making victory for labor by J. M. Landis in the leading article of the *Survey* for November 15. Now that the Clayton Act, which allows trial by jury in such cases on demand of the accused, is held constitutional it becomes a powerful defense against the abuse of the labor injunction by "regal-minded" judges. In thus interpreting our fundamental law in harmony with the

emerging social ideals of the time, the Court shows itself aware of the true philosophy and end of law.

\* \* \*

The Russell Sage Foundation published recently a recommendation to the federal and state governments for the establishment of a free nationwide public employment service, to be maintained by the states in coöperation with national and local authorities, for men, women and youths in all lines of work. Fifteen years ago the Foundation, says Robert W. Bruère in the same number, went on record as opposed to public agencies for employment, but time has shown that the unofficial bureaus it advocated served little purpose. "Public or Private—Or Both?" is the title of the article; the full development of a public service will supplement and reinforce private initiative and the sense of individual responsibility.

\* \* \*

An imposing study of "The Automobile: Its Province and Problems" by no less than fifty contributors constitutes the November number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. There is space here to enumerate only its nine main headings:

The services of the automobile.

The manufacture and sales of automobiles.

The automobile, the home, the school, and the church.

The place of the motor in our transportation system.



The building and financing of motor highways.

Safety on the highways through traffic regulation.

City plans for motor traffic.

International problems growing out of the development of the automobile industry.

The services of automobile associations and the universities.

\* \* \*

The Federal Women's Bureau has recently issued Bulletin 38, in which the problems raised by the employment of nearly 2,000,000 "Married

Women in Industry" are briefly considered in the light of the economic needs of industry, the social needs of the family, and the human needs of the individual. . . . Bulletin 39, "Domestic Workers and their Employment Relations," is an elaborate study of the servant question based on the records of the Domestic Efficiency Service of Baltimore. A number of recent efforts at readjustment in various cities are evaluated. . . . An advance section from Bulletin 40 tabulates "Home Work Laws in the United States," giving the mandatory clause of each state law, the places and occupations covered by it, and the exceptions it makes provision for.

# The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

## Editorial Notes

### *Masters of Work*

Few there are who read or who love the spirit and nature of mankind who will not rejoice because of this year's notable list of biographies and human stories of distinguished individuals trying to get along with society. There they are; now a strong fine echo, or an unforgettable picture, or recollections of a happy life; now reminiscences of an editor, a critical biography, a rollicking story of boyhood, an illuminating portrait. What an interpretation of life and labor they make! What value and charm! What challenge to the pleasures of achievement, to the tasks ahead! William Allen White's *Woodrow Wilson*, "fascinating, invigorating and beautiful"; Mark Twain, "a great and pitiful book"; Ford's *Joseph Conrad*, agonizing over the mastery of his English and finances; Woodrow Wilson's *Robert E. Lee*, a double epic; Hammond's *Steinmetz*, the simplest of the great, the greatest of human paradoxes; Burton's *Walter Hines Page*, a portrait of changing civilization; G. Stanley Hall's *The Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, a whole source book in itself; or Gamaliel Bradford's *Bare Soul's*, psychographic portraits. And so for the others—could we name them all—John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, Abbott's *Letters of Archie Butt*, Jim Tully's *Beggars of Life*, Mitchell's *Memories of an Editor*, and Tooker's *The Joys and Tribulations of an Editor*, with similar stories of the newspaper personalities and forces in Marse Henry, McRae's *Forty Years*, Seitz's *Joseph Pulitzer*, St. Lee Strachey's *The River of Life*. Or back again to Jacob Riis's *The Making of an American*, Schwob's *Imaginary Lives*, Addington's *Book of Characters*, Abbott's *Conflicts with Oblivion*, Guedalla's *Supers and Supermen*, and certain of the recollections and letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, William Dean Howells, Sherwood Anderson, Walt Whitman, Maxim Gorky.

### *New Years and New Biographies*

Have we read them all? Or even listed them all? Yet we shall read much of many of them and incorporate something of their suggestions in the plans and programs for *The JOURNAL's* continuous study of Leadership. We were thinking, however, how well these stories fit in with the new year plans of the increasing number of those who study and write about what Professor Giddings calls "human adequacy." But mostly at this time, we were thinking of another sort of biography which ought to be written and soon; of types of autobiographical sketches that ought to be recorded for the sake of the cause. We were thinking of the All-American group of scholars in the social sciences. Perhaps they have not been so picturesque, perhaps not much in the foreground, perhaps generally not so absorbing. But they have achieved in many instances a far more enduring work in the promotion of human welfare and in making the future life story of mankind better in the telling. They have accomplished big things. They have stood out in the midst of the multitude. They have added to the sum total of human knowledge and human welfare. Besides this new array of excellent biographies to suggest to us the desire for such stories, needed to reinterpret the difficulties and processes of the scientific study of human society and its problems, here are the Christmas meetings of the several groups—Economics, Sociology, Statistics, Political Science, Psychology, History—visible reminders of the Masters of Work to whom Society owes much more than it always acknowledges.

\* \* \*

### *An All-American Selection*

A series of stories of the inside situations, the humor and the difficulties, the yesterday and today of teaching and research in the social sciences would prove not only interesting but decidedly valuable in the progressive record. One need not wait for verdicts or estimates of tomorrow. One need only to see and know these teachers, authors and specialists in order to appraise what they have wrought in a generation and to express appreciation for their work, affection for



their personalities. We have attempted to list some fourteen in each group commonly rated as of senior superiority for an all-American selection of which a half dozen in each group may be cited to illustrate the pleasurable impressions which come from such notation.

#### IN ECONOMICS:

*John Bates Clark, Frank William Taussig, Richard Theodore Ely, Edwin R. A. Seligman, John Rogers Commons, Leon Carroll Marshall.*

#### IN HISTORY:

*Albert Bushnell Hart, William Edward Dodd, Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, Edward Channing, Max Farrand.*

#### IN POLITICAL SCIENCE:

*Charles Edward Merriam, William Bennett Munro, Charles Austin Beard, Frank Johnson Goodnow, Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Henry Jones Ford.*

#### IN EDUCATION:

*John Dewey, William Bagley Chandler, Frank Pierrepont Graves, Charles Hubbard Judd, Paul Monroe, Edward Patterson Cubberley.*

#### IN PSYCHOLOGY:

*Edward Bradford Titchener, Edward Lee Thorndike, James McKeen Cattell, James Rowland Angell, Robert Sessions Woodworth, Robert Mearnes Yerkes.*

#### IN SOCIOLOGY:

*Franklin Henry Giddings, Albion Woodbury Small, Edward Alsworth Ross, Charles Horton Cooley, Charles Abram Ellwood, John Lewis Gillin.*

To these and the forty-eight others are added the memories of another six: *William Archibald Dunning, William James, G. Stanley Hall, Lester Frank Ward, Simon Nelson Patten, William Graham Sumner.*

\* \* \*

### *These Eventful Years*

Eighty-four distinguished contributors have written for the Encyclopedia Britannica Company thirteen hundred pages of notable reviews and prophecies for *These Eventful Years*. We venture at once and without hesitation to affirm that the eighty-four Masters of Work listed in this grouping—listed and implied—should write a

much more admirable and dependable analysis, although, of course, some of our list are included in that group. Hopefully we all turn, therefore, to the prospect of a new Encyclopedia for the Social Sciences now, let us hope, sufficiently under way to insure its ultimate maturity. But for the present we wish there were available for the younger group, and for permanent record, adequate stories of progress in the social sciences for the last quarter century, told in intimate detail and interesting fashion. Here would be found stories of method and progress, difficulties and obstacles overcome, promise of the future. Professor Small's story of fifty years of sociology in the United States and Dr. Hall's recollections of psychology for twenty-five years are representative of other records of economics, sociology, history, political science, education. But what would make more engaging reading is still more intimate and detailed stories, from several viewpoints, and from several university atmospheres for each of the subjects. Two decades of students—perhaps more often than not, poor material! Two decades of pioneering and limitations, obstacles in the way of a new subject, of new methods, of adequate support for either teaching or research, old or new.

\* \* \*

### *Masters of Work*

But the thing we set out to say is that we have enjoyed looking into some of the facts with reference to the education, experience and contributions of these four score leaders in the academic aspects of the social sciences. And what we find—we might have known, of course,—is most interesting. It is scarcely necessary to say that the facts add to the larger basis for a commendable esteem in which we hold these teachers and creators of new values. But they also offer a challenge to the younger groups now achieving—and not achieving. One of the things we noted was the fact that the most of these leaders were awarded the Ph.D. degree at a more mature age than is often the case now. Taking the groups all together the average age of those about whom information was immediately available was approximately thirty years, and considerably higher except for the history and psychology groups. If we take the twelve living ex-presidents of the

American Sociological Society, the average age at which the doctor's degree was conferred upon them appears to be about thirty-four years. In the meantime, what tasks they performed, what pioneering they attempted, what varied undertakings fell to their lot! Instructors, workers, assistants, students, all these they were, with small salaries and the eager search for larger fields. Sometimes they had honor, often not; sometimes difficulties calculated to turn strong personality into a safe mode of mediocrity. Of course in the case of history, economics, and others of the older established departments things were more favorable. But even here the road to advancement has led through paths of instructorships, to Europe and back again to assist and to achieve promotion through hard work and published contributions. Another interesting fact is, with the general exception of the group in education, that there is consistently a considerable lapse of years between the time the doctorate was received and the first work of distinction was brought out. The average for the groups studied is fourteen years, which brings the general average age for the appearance of major works in the early forties. Many distinguished scholars, however, have produced their major works much later.

\* \* \*

### *The Next Eighty-Four*

These hurried and passing observations suggest two queries: Are the younger students of the social sciences working now as did these teachers and contributors in the formative stages; and do they give promise of equal achievement? The other query suggests that, with the greater advantages and opportunities which the student of today has over those of earlier days, social science will suffer nothing less than a calamity unless the younger group can excel the present and the past classical contributions. But who are the eighty-four of the younger group, and the next eighty-four to follow these? Is their tendency to demand large stipends in the way of fellowships, assistantships, research grants, on the one hand, and their eagerness to produce quickly, without paying the time-price, a danger sign or a symptom of a deeper desire to do more extensive and important work unimpeded by material obstacles? Certainly many of the

eighty-four all-American scholars to whom we have been referring worked in responsible positions after receiving the doctorate, for less money-reward than many of the college graduate aspirants for higher degrees receive in the way of fellowships, research assistantships or grants today. We wish to repeat, then, the assertion, made in our editorial a year ago, that contributions attempted on the paid quantity-promotion basis stand "a poor chance to rank among the immortals as compared with genuine theory brought forth in the ecstasy of victory after long study, exhaustive research and desperate search after truth."

\* \* \*

### *Tomorrow and Tomorrow*

Turning again, as we did in the opening paragraph of these notes, to our lists of books, we have enjoyed the pleasure of imagining ourselves as the happy possessors of a copy of each of these several hundred volumes, written, edited or produced by these eighty-four professors in the fields of social science; the several thousand articles and notes contributed to scientific journals, all classified and indexed! A library of great personal value it would be; but of what immeasurable worth to society and social progress. Only by imagining, if we could, the elimination of all these from American literature and learning can one come to appraise something of the debt we owe to their authors. And so we bring to the Christmas meetings thoughts of good will and renewals and expectations that the new year will find still more notable achievements from the workshops of these Masters who may yet write for us more of these stories of creative effort. And for "Tomorrow and Tomorrow" we ask again: Who are the eighty-four and what manner of creative work will they match with these? And for those who have questioned the accuracy or good taste of *The JOURNAL's* complaint that the Southern student and leader is not working hard enough, we present the test of these workers and the work of their hands. So far as we can see students and faculty in Southern institutions have shown no comprehensive evidence that they have ability, willingness or habit of paying the price of work, not in *Southern institutions* at least. Of the eighty-four perhaps nearly twenty per cent are of Southern birth, but they did not achieve distinction there.



## Library and Work Shop

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ELMER BARNES AND FRANK H.  
HANKINS.

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### SOME RECENT BOOKS ON INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

HARRY ELMER BARNES

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| <p>PSYCHOLOGY: WHAT IT HAS TO TEACH YOU ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR WORLD. By Everett Dean Martin. New York: Peoples Institute Publishing Company, 1924, 248 pp. \$3.00.</p> <p>AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MIND. By William A. White. Washington: Mental and Nervous Disease Publishing Company, 1924, 116 pp. \$1.00.</p> <p>SIGMUND FREUD: HIS PERSONALITY, HIS TEACHING AND HIS SCHOOL. By Franz Wittels. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924, 287 pp. \$3.50.</p> <p>ESSENTIALS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By E. S. Bogardus. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1924, Fourth edition, 320 pp. \$1.50.</p> <p>THE DISCOVERY OF INTELLIGENCE. By Joseph K. Hart. New York: Century Company, 1924, 431 pp. \$4.00.</p> <p>OUR WORLD TODAY AND YESTERDAY. By James Henry Breasted, James Harvey Robinson, and Emma Peters Smith. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1924, xlix pp. \$2.12.</p> | <p>JESUS AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By Francis A. Henry. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, second edition, 452 pp. \$4.00.</p> <p>THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY. By Frederick O. Norton. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, 269 pp. \$2.00.</p> <p>DEVIL WORSHIP. By Isya Joseph. Boston: R. G. Badger, 1924, 222 pp. \$2.50.</p> <p>MEDIEVAL PEOPLE. By Eileen Power. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924, 216 pp. \$2.00.</p> <p>STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL SCIENCE. By Charles Homer Haskins. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924, 411 pp. \$6.00.</p> <p>A HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE. Vol. I. By James Harvey Robinson. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1924, 531, xxvii pp. \$2.80.</p> <p>ENGLISH SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AS INFLUENCED FROM OVERSEAS. By Jay B. Botsford. New York: Macmillan, 1924, 388 pp. \$2.50.</p> |
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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN 1815. By Élie Halévy. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924, 576 pp. \$7.50.

THE POLITICAL NOVEL: ITS DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Morris E. Speare. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, 377 pp. \$2.25.

FRANCES WRIGHT. By William R. Waterman. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1924, 267 pp. \$2.50.

CARGOES FOR CRUSOES. By Grant Overton. New York: D. Appleton Company, 1924, 416 pp. \$2.00.

MY DUEL WITH THE VATICAN. By Alfred Loisy. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924, 357 pp. \$3.00.

KEEPING UP WITH SCIENCE. Edited by Edwin E. Slosson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924, 355 pp. \$3.00.

OUR CHANGING MORALITY. Edited by Freda Kirchwey. New York: A. and C. Boni, 1924, 249 pp. \$2.50.

STUDENTS of history and social science have long been in need of a clear and comprehensive exposition of psychology which is at the same time popular and scientifically reliable. No other treatise known to the reviewer approximates as closely to this difficult dual achievement as does the work of Mr. Martin. In addition to the orthodox and standard topics of psychology the author deals intelligently with such subjects as rationalizing, Freudianism and the significance of the unconscious, intelligence tests, the psychology of religion, race, politics and conduct, public opinion and the psychology of the group, behaviorism and the rate and possible degree of progress attainable by mankind. In all these fields the author is reasonably abreast of the leading contemporary trends in research and theory. He is an eclectic in attitude, and makes an interesting and serviceable effort at the reconciliation and synthesis of opposing or divergent views and schools of opinion. Mr. Martin is progressive alike in his general attitude and in his interpretation of contemporary psychology. He is optimistic without being naïvely utopian in his hope as to progress, or unconscious of the psychological difficulties inherent in the problem of improving the culture and institutions of humanity. As the book is an edited revision of stenographic notes of the lectures Mr. Martin delivered at Cooper Union, the style is direct and forceful, but rarely becomes discursive or colloquial. It constitutes a well-nigh ideal work to place in the hands of any would be intelligent student of intellectual history or the social sciences.

Dr. White's little book is an effort to introduce the student of social science and the social worker to the nomenclature and mechanisms of dynamic psychology as interpreted by a learned psychiatrist. The book covers the general field of the history of the human mind, the chief mental processes and the major mechanisms which explain both normal and abnormal mental life. He conceives of psychology as primarily concerned with human motives and human conduct. "The old psychology did not deal with human beings but only artificially created laboratory situations. *The new psychology is intensely and exquisitely human.*" While an effort is made to simplify the treatment, it is at times over condensed and would be somewhat difficult for the beginner to assimilate and interpret with ease. The book would have been rendered more useful for its purpose by a glossary of psychiatric terms similar to that contained in the *Mental Health Primer*. While a useful and competent book, the reviewer doubts if it will arouse the sustained interest that Hart's *Psychology of Insanity* can command, or be as helpful as a first book for psychiatric social workers as Sands and Blanchard's *Abnormal Behavior*.

There are few phases of modern thought which have been more widely discussed, or more warmly espoused and fiercely contested, than Freudian psychology, probably the most significant contribution yet made to medical psychology, and of immense importance for a knowledge of everyday mental processes as a whole. Yet we have not hitherto possessed an adequate or discriminating history of the movement or a biography of the founder. Freud's little monograph on the history of psychoanalysis, Bjerre's brief work, and the dubious popular summary of Tridon have been about all that has been available to the reader in English. In the work of the Viennese psychiatrist, Franz Wittels, we at last have a book which is based upon sound and intimate knowledge of Freud's personal history and psychiatric methods, combined with a discriminating appraisal of Freud's contributions to medical psychology. The book includes an account of Freud's early training under Charcot, his preliminary work with Breuer, the development of the Freudian mechanisms for the interpretation of hysteria and the neuroses, and his series of personal breaks with



his most distinguished pupils and disciples: Adler, Jung and Stekel. Incidentally one obtains much interesting information as to the viewpoints and contributions of these psychoanalysts who have diverged somewhat from Freud as well as others in the Vienna circle. The work is unquestionably the most useful and interesting source yet available on the development of the psychoanalytic movement. Wittels was one of Freud's pupils and is a practising psychoanalyst, but he fell from favor. This did not sour him, but rather gave him a creditable objectivity in estimating Freud's work. One obtains from the book an impression of Freud as a man of great ability, ingenuity, resourcefulness and originality, but utterly unable, especially in later years, to brook criticism or serious divergence from his major doctrines. He seems unable to apply to his own case successfully the mechanisms of projection and resistance or the concept of the Jehovah complex. Hence, he alienated many of his ablest students and has failed to keep abreast of the developments in his own field. It has thus come about that Freudianism, strictly speaking, has already become but an early and basic phase of contemporary psychoanalysis in which many minor flaws have been found and to which much of great import has been added. It would seem that the sane and honest student will find the best guidance neither in the ecstatic writings of the loved disciples like Rank or Brill nor in the silly critiques of Wohlgemuth, McBride and Dunlap, but rather in the competent and constructive critical works of such a type as J. T. MacCurdy's *Problems in Dynamic Psychology*. Certainly no student interested in either historical biography or intellectual history can safely fail to acquaint himself with the general concepts of psychoanalysis and their constant elaboration and improvement.

Bogardus's book is a revision of his well-known introductory manual which covers the psychological basis of the social personality and the group, with the various processes which grow out of their interaction. While not severely discriminating in its utilization of psychological materials, it is clear and succinct, and synthetic in its approach. As a work for sociologists it has been superseded by his more voluminous *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, but it constitutes an excel-

lent little guide to the student of history who desires to approach his subject from the socio-psychological point of view.

Mr. Hart's book is a contribution of first rate importance to the general field of intellectual history. It represents what is somewhat of a combination of such material as is found in a book like Robinson's *Mind in the Making* with the content of a progressive work on the history of education. In other words, it is a study of the development of education, in the largest sense of the term, in its relation to the prevailing intellectual outlook of the various ages from primitive days to the twentieth century. It traces the growth of education under the domination of primitive folkways, the first serious revolt against custom and tradition in the Greek period, the return of supernaturalism and relatively rigid folkways in the medieval period, and the gradual escape from the domination of unreasoning tradition and persistent mores with the rise of modern science and critical thought. But whatever the period or development presented in different pages, the basic and dominant theme throughout is the long and grave struggle of intelligence against custom and tradition, which is not by any means ended today. It is throughout an ingenious, stimulating, progressive and informing work; probably the most important book of its type since Robinson's above mentioned survey. Nearly half of the work is assigned to the modern period, which is the most suggestive and important portion of his treatment. The history of education is more competently handled than the history of thought and culture, a fact probably to be explained by the author's training and experience as a professor of education. The treatment of the Oriental period would have been enriched by an acquaintance with the recent stimulating work of Professor Breasted. The estimate of the Sophists is antiquated and unfair. Not enough is made of the rise of science in the Hellenistic age. The syncretic character of early Christianity is not sufficiently recognized. The Gallo-Romanic basis of medieval culture is not adequately pointed out. The author misses a remarkable opportunity to illustrate his thesis that contact of cultures is the most potent influence disrupting custom, by failing to treat the rise of the modern world as the result of the expansion of Europe and the con-

tact of Europe with oversea cultures. Nor does he deal sufficiently with the relation of the scientific and industrial revolutions to the civilization of the contemporary age. And while not naïvely ecstatic about the matter, his attitude towards democracy is distinctly optimistic like that of Cooley. Yet, in spite of such short-comings, the historical sections of the book are suggestive and for the most part accurate. The illustrations are numerous, well chosen, relevant and actually illuminating.

The manual by Robinson, Smith and Breasted is a condensation of the Breasted, Robinson and Beard *Outlines of European History* to form a general world history for use in high schools. The reorganization has been competently done, but as was in part inevitable, much of the juice in the larger work has been lost in the process of compression. Only a genius can perform the dual achievement of vital synthesis and popularization. Yet the book has not lost all of the verve and insight of Breasted, Robinson and Beard; and constitutes one of the most attractive manuals of its type on the market.

Professor Norton's little work is a clear elementary introduction to the ministry of Christ and the expansion of Christianity through the Pauline period. It is well organized and contains ample bibliographic guides. While giving evidence of an acquaintance with the literature of scholarship in the matter of New Testament history and criticism, the atmosphere of the book is reverent throughout. As an introductory textbook for a class of students which demand a combination of mild mannered scholarship and benign piety the book will prove highly satisfactory. The gulf between it and a severely scholarly and critically mature work can best be discerned by comparing it with Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare's *Myth, Magic and Morals*.

Mr. Henry's volume is a more meaty and altogether more important book. It is devoted to a thoroughgoing demonstration of the thesis which is today accepted by every competent historian of the Christian Church, namely, that the personality and doctrines of Christ had little, if any, significance, other than symbolic, in the development of Christianity, and that the authoritative dogmas of the Church of the Fifth Century could in no way be derived from the teachings of Christ

or justified by them—in other words, that the doctrines of Christ and historic and orthodox Christianity have little relationship or resemblance. Mr. Henry first discusses with scholarship and sympathetic understanding the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels; then deals with the development of Messianism; next shows the tremendous influence wielded by Paul in transforming Christianity and preparing the way for Catholicism; and, finally, traces the rise of the dogmas, sacramental system, scriptural canon, administrative hierarchy, general outlook, and ethical ideals of the Catholic Church of the Patristic period. The conclusion of the writer can be well stated in his own words:

The impartial student will find himself compelled to recognize that the Gospel of Jesus and the Christian religion are two quite distinct and different things. The distinction appears in the New Testament itself. And amidst its varying religious teachings there begins in the New Testament that transformation of the Gospel which was carried out to the extreme on other lines by the Catholic Church. The preceding pages seem to lead to the conclusion that since the teachings of theology and ecclesiasticism which have ruled the thought and life of the Christian world are in relation to the Gospel of alien origin and antagonistic spirit, the whole history of the Christian religion is little else than a record of aberration from the primary essential truths of the Gospel.

The book is clearly and forcefully written throughout, and for the most part sound in scholarship. It is weakest in its treatment of the anthropological background of religion and Christianity. Here the author rests content with the treacherous anthropology of such early writers as Morgan, Tylor, Clodd, Brinton and Jevons. This subject can only be handled upon the basis of the recent work of such writers as Hubert and Mauss, Durkheim, Marett, Goldenweiser and Lowie, combined with such psychological studies as those by E. D. Martin. The time is ripe for a candid study of Christian origins in the light of the latest and best anthropology and psychology. It is likely to be as revolutionary as were the works of Conybeare and Percy Gardner some twenty years ago.

Dr. Joseph's little book is a translation with commentary of the texts of the Yezidis, or "Devil-Worshippers," of Northern Mesopotamia. It is an interesting and curious contribution to the his-



tory of thought, religion and anthropology. What is most needed in this field is a thorough study of the rise and development of Persian eschatology and diabolism, and its gradual diffusion over the Western World to serve as the basis for the Jewish and Christian doctrines of hell and the devil. The works of Réville, Dhalla and Cumont are inadequate in this respect.

Miss Eileen Power is one of the most talented of English medievalists, and her interests are far different from those of the average English student of medieval history, even of so recent a vintage as the contributors to the *Cambridge Medieval History*. She has shown a commendable interest in, and command of, the facts concerning medieval life and thought. Her *Medieval People* is an extremely intelligent and stimulating study of the life and outlook of typical figures drawn from different periods of medieval history: Bodo, a Frankish peasant in the Carolingian period; Marco Polo; Madame Eglentyne, a prioress in the time of Chaucer; a Paris housewife of the fourteenth century; Thomas Betson, a merchant of the staple in the fifteenth century; and Thomas Paycocke, an English clothier of the reign of Henry VII. These personalities and their lives and intellectual horizons are interpreted on the basis of a wealth of concrete knowledge of the facts and unusual penetration and discrimination in both thought and style. The book is a first-rate contribution to our scanty collection of readily available works in English on the everyday life and thought of the medieval period. It is probably more useful in this respect than the English translation of Luchaire's *Social France in the Time of Philip Augustus*. Important as it may be for an understanding of medieval intellectual history, it is probably even more enlightening to the student of the economic and social history of this age.

Dean Charles Homer Haskins has been known for a score of years as one of our most erudite and severely critical American medievalists. Up to the last few years his published work in this field has been for the most part confined to studies of political and legal institutions, particularly those of the Normans, on which he is the first of living authorities. Last year, however, he brought out in his little work on the medieval universities one of the most brilliant

and suggestive achievements in the ways of scientific popularization of medieval intellectual history which the reviewer has yet read. This work on medieval science constitutes a continuation of this interest in medieval intellectual life, but with a return to the rather heavy and exact scholarship of the *Studies in Norman Institutions*. Some few of the chapters, such as those on the "Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," "Science at the Court of Frederick II," and "Michael Scot," have been published earlier in professional periodicals. The subjects dealt with cover Arabic Science, medieval translations from Greek texts, intellectual life at the court of Emperor Frederick II, and some miscellaneous material on the abacus, medieval astronomy, falconry, and medieval textbooks. It is less comprehensive and voluminous than Thorndike's recent work, but more specific and well digested. It is strictly a book by a scholar for scholars, and could not be used with any high degree of satisfaction or competence save by those acquainted with medieval science and Latin for whom it brings together a vast mass of hitherto scattered and obscure knowledge. The talented author should follow it by a general and more popular work on the intellectual history of the Middle Ages as a whole, conforming to the excellent model presented in his *Rise of the Universities*.

James Harvey Robinson's work is a rather thorough revision of the first half of his justly famous *History of Western Europe* which was published twenty-one years ago and set a new and revolutionary standard for textbook writing in this field. Subsequent efforts of other authors have been fruitless in the attempt to displace even the first edition in its appropriate class of books. The changes in the second edition are numerous and significant. The author shows much more maturity and sophistication. The book reveals the impress of the concepts and methods of the famous Columbia course on the "History of the Intellectual Class in Europe," which Professor Robinson developed after the writing of the original edition. More space is given to intellectual and cultural history, though even the first edition of the work was unique in this respect among textbooks at the time. The most notable improvements, in addition to the above, are the greater

attention to the social and economic history of the medieval period, a more advanced and penetrating approach to the rise of Christianity, a better account of the origins of feudalism, a more discerning analysis of the Protestant Reformation, and, if the second volume is to be as long as the first, a more liberal allotment of space to the Nineteenth Century. Another improvement which should not escape notice is that of a much better printed product. The execrable small type and glazed white paper of the first edition have given way to readable and artistic typography in conjunction with a pleasing cream paper. This will be as gratifying to students and teachers as it will be disappointing to opticians, who must certainly have derived an income of many thousands of dollars as a result of the ocular ravages of the first edition. There are, however, several regrettable defects in the revision, which are the less to be forgiven as the author most certainly knew that they should have been included. Among them are the neglect of the geographical basis of European history and the developments of the medieval period, the failure to give an adequate psychological and anthropological analysis of Christianity and the Sacramental System, the retention of the misleading practices of passing directly from the Roman Empire to the Teutonic tribes, with no indication of the importance of Gaul and Celtic culture for the Middle Ages, and the serious error in not exploiting at length the dynamic contributions of Professor W. R. Shepherd and his followers with respect to the importance of the expansion of Europe overseas as the main causative factor in the rise of modern European civilization. These defects render the book in its revised form further behind the procession of the most advanced interpretative scholarship of today than the first edition was in the rear of similar work in 1903. At the same time, it can be heralded as the most progressive and up-to-date textbook in the field, a fact worth pondering upon.

Professor Botsford, a student and disciple of Professor Shepherd, has produced a work of great interest and significance. It is the logical continuation of J. E. Gillespie's *Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700*, and attempts to assess the importance of the results

flowing from the contact with overseas cultures for the interpretation of English economic, social and intellectual history in the Eighteenth Century. It is a well written and scholarly work, and constitutes one more important exhibit in the proof that the clue to modern European history is to be sought above all in the expansion of Europe after 1450, and the results of this process. The book is, however, most valuable in its treatment of social and economic history, and far less complete than Gillespie's in its handling of the history of thought. It is to be hoped that others among Professor Shepherd's students will perform a service for Spain, Holland and France comparable to what Gillespie and Botsford have done for England.

Élie Halévy has become well known to students of social and economic thought through his unrivalled studies of Bentham and the English utilitarians. He has since 1912 been engaged on a general history of England in the Nineteenth Century, of which three volumes in French, bringing the story down to 1841, have already appeared. The present work is a thoroughly competent English translation of the first volume, and is devoted to a consideration of the state of English society at the close of the Napoleonic period. Its treatment of the age falls into three parts: political institutions, economic life, and religion and culture. Throughout one finds the characteristic combination of thorough command of the facts with penetrating insight and delicacy and freshness of interpretation. If completed, it will at once become the great classic on the history of England in the last century, and will demonstrate admirably the progress of modern historiography through its contrasts with the earlier works of Froude, Gardiner and Lecky on the preceding centuries. It also illustrates the superior literary skill and cultural interests which characterize the majority of French historians.

Dr. Speare's treatise on the political novel is a helpful work on a subject that has not been sufficiently cultivated. He devotes most space to Disraeli, but also includes Trollope, George Eliot, Meredith, Mrs. Humphry Ward, H. G. Wells, Henry Adams, Winston Churchill and Paul Leicester Ford. It is rather to be regretted that some of the more recent American writers were not chosen, and it is scarcely correct to identify



H. G. Wells with individualism in a country where it has been associated with the point of view of Herbert Spencer.

Professor Waterman's biography of Frances Wright is a valuable contribution to American intellectual and social history. Miss Wright was the first great pioneer in the cause of equal rights for women in the United States, and the nearest American analogue to Mary Wollstonecraft. But she was more than a suffragist; she belongs most properly to that group of Americans who shared with Godwin, Owen and others the utopian optimism and belief in human perfectability which was characteristic of the period from 1776 to 1848. Of special interest is the account of the Perfectionist Community at Nashoba, Tennessee. It is only in research of this sort that we shall be able to found a reliable basis for the future social and intellectual history of the United States. It is to be hoped that Professor Fox will start another student on the subject of the life of Dorothea Dix.

The rise and eclipse of Modernism in the Catholic Church is one of the saddest and most inevitable episodes in the history of contemporary thought. Of all that small circle of superior intellects and courageous spirits Alfred Loisy is unquestionably the most distinguished and attractive figure. He combined the most remarkable scholarship with personal integrity and courage to a greater degree than any other single person in the movement. We have here his autobiography, giving in detail the record of his struggle with bigotry, ignorance and obscurantism, and told in a calm and dispassionate but deadly effective manner. While Loisy's effort to bring about a liason between Catholicism and candid scholarship proved futile, his struggles have been far from vain. He has put the whole world in debt to him for his contributions to biblical criticism and the history of religions, and has, by the very futility of his specific courageous struggle with the Church, enhanced his reputation among those whose opinions should be of serious concern to scholars. The book is unquestionably one of the most important offerings in the literature of the history of Modernism, and it is rendered more valuable and informing by the long and discriminating biographical note by Richard Wilson Boynton, the translator of the volume.

In his *Cargoes for Crusoes* Grant Overton has brought together a large mass of miscellaneous, and, for the most part, entertaining and instructive material on some of the leading contemporary American writers and thinkers. He covers a large range of authors and subjects, literary, philosophic and scientific. Perhaps the best sections are those on E. Phillips Oppenheim, Stanley Hall and E. V. Lucas. The chapter on Hall is one of the best of the many brief studies and estimates which have appeared since his death. The very suggestiveness of this somewhat casual miscellany indicates how fruitful might be a truly scholarly and comprehensive survey of contemporary thought and literature.

Dr. Slosson's compilation is at once an impressive and highly popular account of the multifarious progress of contemporary science. All manner of subjects are included from the distant spiral nebulae of the heavens to evolution of the horse's foot, solar therapy, the longevity of automobile tires, the prophylaxis of goitre, and the necrology of the dinosaurs. While popular almost to the level of Sunday Supplement articles, the collection is, nevertheless, able to give an impression of the stupendous variety and volume of modern scientific progress. When one scans the book in conjunction with the election returns of November 4, 1924, he is able to gauge somewhat the discrepancy between the level of scientific and political achievement in the present age, and to comprehend the grave element of truth in the allegation that contemporary civilization is comparable to a feeble-minded child running amuck with a can of TNT and his father's .45 Colt automatic pistol.

The abyssmal gulf separating our attitude towards progress in scientific and moral fields can be well illustrated by the difference in the conventional reaction to Dr. Slosson's collection and the volume of essays on the newer morality edited by Miss Kirchwey. Even the most pious Baptist grandmother might well exult over most of the Slosson volume, with the possible exception of certain references to evolution, but even many college professors would find themselves inexpressibly shocked by these mild and moderate contributions to progress in moral realms. These are really not comparable to the Slosson volume, but rather resemble in relation to relative modern-

ity a book on the history of science dealing with the discovery of the law of gravitation, the circulation of the blood, the microscope, and the invention of the steam engine and locomotive. The editors of *New Republic* risked a somewhat weak-kneed excursus into this field by Clement Wood something over a year ago, but their copious rebukes from bucolic clergymen and other highly trained experts in the field of amour and matrimony apparently frightened them into a long run of respectability. The *Nation* has, however, persisted in going through with the series in spite of hundreds of letters containing the most indignant protests. Here we have some sixteen brief essays on the more civilized views concerning the relations between the sexes by Bertrand Russell, Elsie Clews Parsons, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Alexander Goldenweiser, Ludwig Lewisohn, Beatrice Hinckle and others. Startling as some of them may seem, there is

little here in general attitude that was not implied or stated in the doctrines of Mary Wollstonecraft and Frances Wright a century ago, to say nothing of Olive Schreiner in the last generation. Far from being obscene and degrading, they constitute but rudimentary prolegomena to a civilized attitude towards the sexual problem, though they do not impress the reviewer as being of the same level of seriousness and importance as Havelock Ellis's *Little Essays of Love and Virtue*. It is rather too bad that the grotesquely inaccurate section by M. Vaerting on "Dominant Sexes" should have been included. It is a perpetuation of the Bachofen, Lester F. Ward, C. Gasquoine Hartley mythology concerning the biological primacy and original social ascendancy of woman, something thoroughly disproved by Dr. M. M. Knight and others. This benign nonsense also creeps out in Mrs. Gilman's otherwise excellent chapter.

## PSYCHOLOGY AND BUSINESS

DOUGLAS FRYER

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT, PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES, AND POINT OF VIEW. By Walter Dill Scott and Robert C. Clothier. Chicago: Shaw Co., 1923, 643 pp. \$4.00.

THE PERSONAL RELATION IN INDUSTRY. By John D. Rockefeller, Jr. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923, 149 pp. \$1.75.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRY. By Frank Watts. London: Allen and Unwin, 1921, 240 pp. 12/6 net.

HERE ARE three books constituting important and authoritative statements from three different approaches to the field of personnel administration. *Personnel Management*, by Scott and Clothier, brings together in one volume the principles and methods of human adjustment in industry in a comprehensive fashion not to be found elsewhere. *The Personal Relation in Industry*, by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., coming as it does from the pen of one of our foremost industrial leaders and advancing what are considered by many employers radical or unsound doctrines, is a pragmatic statement from an employer's point of view of what pays in personnel relations. It has, of course, little significance for the scientific worker. Watt's book, *An Introduc-*

*tion to the Psychological Problems of Industry*, is probably the best statement which has come from England on industrial psychology. Like other British contributions in the field of personnel relations it is largely, perhaps too largely, concerned with American procedure.

*Personnel Management* is a synthesis of modern thought on the subject of personnel adjustment in industry. While much has been written on this subject an inclusive statement of the field has seldom been attempted. Tead and Metcalf's *Personnel Administration*, published in 1920, is representative of the best of the past, but in the light of the recent developing attitude this falls short in method of attack, critical synthesis of material, and in particular, in application of psychology to a field where the chief concern should be the behavior of the individual in contact with a highly artificial and somewhat rigid environment.

Scott and Clothier study the problems of human relations in industry as an applied science. Time has played a large part in bringing this critical analysis of method,—time and a business depression. Rule-of-thumb methods that might



have readily been written into the theory of personnel administration immediately following the war have received an acid test. When things are going well anything is plausible. In the war excitement and prosperity psychology sold itself to business. In the subsequent depression it was called upon to *prove* itself,—sometimes quite a different matter. *Personnel Management* has benefited by the sharper demands and more critical attitude. What was true of the earlier writings in this field is also true of this book. Much of it is common-sense material, but here we have more of a perfected common-sense, or in other words, facts collected by means of the scientific method. A point of view for research has been developed out of the work which forms the foundation of the book, and we now find personnel administration well on the way to being an applied science with a technology for the efficient handling of the human factor in industrial engineering. We cannot credit Scott and Clothier with the final writing of a "principles of personnel administration,"—their book is far from being this, as is clearly recognized by the authors,—but we can credit them with first marking out and definitely establishing the field of applied science which is the foundation for the practical and efficient handling of industrial personnel.

Starting out with the principle that personal differences between individuals form a vital factor in industrial efficiency and "Unless a proper adjustment is made between the worker and his work . . . between the worker and his working environment, the individual will not contribute in fullest measure to the economic well-being of society, nor will he benefit personally in maximum degree, nor will the work itself be done as well as it can be done and as well as it should be done," the authors proceed to develop "the principles underlying the creation and maintenance of these wholesome adjustments, to define the instruments necessary in the work and to suggest how they can be utilized most efficiently in making these principles active, dynamic forces in management." In consideration of the worker as an individual, essential factors in the dynamic concept are stated as follows:

1. Individuals differ in personal and special aptitudes;
2. Individuals differ in interest and motive and respond best to varying stimuli;

3. The same individual changes from day to day and from year to year in ability and in interest;
4. Different kinds of work require different kinds of personal ability in the persons who are to perform them.
5. Granting equal ability, different kinds of work are done best by persons who, temperamentally, are particularly interested in them.
6. Work in each position in a company changes from time to time; thus a similar change is apt to be required in the abilities and interests of the worker.
7. Environment exercises a tremendous influence on personal efficiency and consequently on group production.

This leads to the primary concept of the book, from the point of view of which all methods are tested and all research approached, a fundamental concept in the study of all problems relating to the worker: the "worker-in-his-work unit."

We do not think of the hiring of a worker as the connecting of a man with a job; it is the creation of a worker-in-his-work unit. We do not think of the release of a worker as the separation of a man from his job; it is the destruction of that particular worker-in-his-work unit.

The hiring of a new worker for the job will not reproduce the same worker-in-his-work unit; a new worker-in-his-work unit has been brought about. The transfer of the worker to another job will not reproduce it; again another new worker-in-his-work unit has been created.

Management's task is to make each and every worker-in-his-work unit as effective as possible. The achievement of this task makes it necessary to consider each worker-in-his-work unit from three different angles—from the point of view of Capacities, of Interests and of Opportunities.

From this point of view the analysis of causes of waste in production and of loss in human happiness proceeds. Maladjustment is found to be the cause of inefficiency, a maladjustment of capacity, of interest, or of opportunity. With its six hundred and more pages the book is a vast mine of personnel information. The general aspects of personnel procedure are treated at length: developing sources of labor supply, selection, placement and follow-up. The methods, scientific tests and instruments employed by leading concerns in personnel procedure are critically described in detail. These include occupational description, the application blank, rating scale, qualification card, tests of special, vocational and

general abilities, promotional and personnel control charts, incentives, employee training, supervision, salary control, etc.

The book concludes with a statement of point of view. Personnel research in its relation to the worker in his work is a comparatively new idea. "Labor stands committed to anything that it is convinced will add to 'Science in Management'

... Labor stands opposed to 'Scientific Management' as operated in the average manufacturing plant, but its opposition is directed not so much against the application of scientific principles to the handling of materials, as against the lack of application of scientific principles in the handling of human beings." Personnel research is held to be essential to industrial progress. It promotes invention and protects against charlatanism. "The further study and analysis of occupations, the demonstrated Capacity of the worker and his Interests all await careful and painstaking research on a long-time basis. The historical and personal record provided in the Qualification Card only suggest vague possibilities of what may later constitute valuable research in human behavior." But for the present, the authors hold, the only thing to do is to continue to select, place, train and promote workers on the basis of the best that we now know.

Research in the study of industrial relations will go on. "Industry has its obligation to society. Social Science forces the obligation home." The alert business man of tomorrow will see it as a necessity and those who see this first will prosper. The increase of human happiness and the more equitable distribution of happiness is the aim. Personnel Research is the instrument. "Fortunately there are some companies which have already assumed their obligation, and in some cases they are able to see that even now it pays in terms of profit as well as in terms of sound citizenship."

Recognizing the personal relation in industry as the foremost problem of social reconstruction John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offers as his solution, based upon his well-known, rather spectacular experiences in Colorado with the disgruntled miners, the principle of coöperation. This principle he expects to lead to an industrial democracy in which labor and capital are partners in bringing about future progress.

The book is an interesting document in the field of personnel relations. While the ideas included in the 150 pages (made into a book through the use of heavy paper) could be told in a short chapter their statement here under the prestige of the writer cannot fail to influence other industrial leaders toward a policy of greater social enlightenment. Mr. Rockefeller recognizes:

That organization by labor as well as capital is inevitable;

That capital must place the life and happiness of labor above the value of materials;

That the employer can afford to wait for personnel gains while the employee cannot;

That representation of labor in the affairs of industry is a part of the spirit of democracy.

Briefly and uncritically reviewing the arguments presented in the book, the parties to industry are conceived as: capital, represented by the stockholders; management, consisting of the executive officers who bring to industry technical skill; labor, which contributes the physical energy; and the community as distributor and consumer. The chief factor preventing industrial progress is the modern antagonism between labor and capital. Historically, industrial effort was founded upon close coöperation between labor and capital. This has been upset by modern industrial methods and mass production, under which labor and capital each strives for its own end.

Our difficulty in dealing with the industrial problem is due too often to a failure to understand the true interests of Labor and Capital. . . . Much of the reasoning on this subject proceeds upon the theory that the wealth of the world is absolutely limited, and that if one man gets more, another necessarily gets less. . . . If this theory is sound, it might be maintained that the relation between Labor and Capital is fundamentally one of antagonism. . . . But all such counsel loses sight of the fact that the riches available to man are practically without limit, that the world's wealth is constantly being developed . . . and that to promote this process both Labor and Capital are indispensable. If these great forces coöperate, the products of industry are steadily increased; whereas, if they fight, the production of wealth is certain to be either retarded or stopped altogether and the well-springs of material progress choked.

The solution for this state of antagonism, Mr. Rockefeller holds, is a renewal of the old contact between labor and capital based upon the principle of coöperation for mutual gain. Industrial de-



mocracy is the embodiment of this principle, with representation of all the parties to industry, as worked out in the "Industrial Constitution" in the coal and iron mines of the Fuel and Iron Company of Colorado and Wyoming and in the Resolution introduced by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at the National Industrial Conference at Washington in 1919 (both of which are outlined in the book.) Just how the fourth party, the community, is to be represented is not worked out in detail, although this is discussed somewhat in the first chapter of the small volume. The first chapter may be regarded as a summary statement of Mr. Rockefeller's views, the rest of the chapters being a collection of speeches of a popular and repetitious nature which present their author in the role of a successful mediator.

As *The Psychological Problems of Industry* is a foreign publication the text will be followed rather closely. Frank Watts is a lecturer in Psychology in the University of Manchester where industrial psychology is receiving a special emphasis. Like so many European contributions his book pays a great deal of attention to the work of Gilbreth in time and motion study and to the work of Taylor in developing a scientific management. No Englishman could write on the subject of psychology in industry without also giving much attention to problems of fatigue, so great has become the interest in fatigue, an interest growing largely out of the excellent work of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board.

In the chapter on "The Psychological Point of View" a tribute is paid to American use of psychology during the war. "She realized very early the need of conserving her human resources and of placing every man in the position where his abilities would find fullest scope and most economical use. This was done largely by psychological examinations. . . . It has been well known for some time that this work was a success. Now, it will be an increasingly important branch of the psychologist's work in peace as well as in war, in an ordered society, to help to select scientifically the right men for particular forms of employment, and this work is already being done." In a later chapter on "Vocational Selection" which seems a trifle hurried and superficial, markedly contrasting with the chapters on "Industrial Fatigue and Inefficiency," "The

Elimination of Fatigue," and "Scientific Management and Labor," Watts presents a discussion of the "American type of test" for mental ability. He holds that they over-emphasize the factor of speed in intelligent reaction; they place workers who do not follow clerical occupations at a disadvantage; they neglect to take into consideration temperament, specific interests and other emotional factors. He believes that they may well be superseded by tests of reasoning made up of graded concrete problems, similar to those published by Cyril Burt. But, on the other hand, "If such tests over-emphasize speed, it must not be thought that speed is always found together with carelessness. Experimental work suggests very strongly that the presence of one good quality is more likely to involve the presence of other good qualities than not." Here is a suggestion of Spearman's "general factor" underlying intelligence and character. Watts does not mention Link in the text but he comes to a similar conclusion as "to the advisability of each industry developing its own types of intelligence test."

The chapter on "Industrial Unrest" is not particularly profound. The author shows himself considerably influenced by Freud and by Trotter's "Instincts of the Herd." While using McDougall's terminology he considers instincts should be regarded as "racial habits of reaction to the situations of life which have proved serviceable and been retained by the species in possession of them." He goes to Jung's concept of regression to explain this. "Now, racial habit is more primitive than reasoned conduct, so that the instinctive reactions in their crude forms naturally appear when consciousness, either through sheer inability or because otherwise engaged, cannot design more effective forms of behavior, and so *regresses*." American students of the social sciences, on either side of the "instinct" controversy, would probably find here considerable confusion of terms.

An interesting discussion of the "Woman Worker" concludes this section. Formerly the demand for self-expression was wholesome, Watts thinks, and to be pressed at any cost, but now that women have attained a modicum of freedom he is doubtful if whole-time participation in modern large scale industry as routine workers is desirable. "To most students of human nature it seems that woman will only find permanent

satisfaction in careers where her natural solicitude for life in its various forms and her skill in fostering its growth can find scope for expression." He lists as desirable careers teaching, nursing and healing, gardening, house-planning, welfare work, administration of law respecting these things, and work in art, drama, literature and music. However, he agrees with Olive Shreiner that women must for the present be allowed to take "all labour for their province." "The deep unconscious *élan*, then, which has created the demand for political and economic equality as a means to a richer and completer life, cannot be repressed. Time and patient study alone will enable us to see all the multifarious interests of men and women in proper perspective and without the interposition of the coloured and distorting screen of sex-prejudice."

The chapter on "The Creative Impulse in Industry" takes up the decline of the traditional type of craftsman, the danger of the development of passive forms of recreation, such as the cinema and the gramophone, which combine with the passive nature of routine work in the industry to prevent adequate outlet for self-expression. Co-partnership, socialism, and syndicalism are considered as in the long run unsatisfactory attempts to solve the problem of the increasing de-humanizing of industry. Some form of effective coöperation, not greatly different from that urged by Mr. Rockefeller, offers the best chance of bringing the workers to an active interest in their work. This coöperation, under the form of industrial democracy, must be preceded by industrial education.

Modern large-scale industry is no social malady but the essential organ of our civilization which it is our duty to maintain in fullest working efficiency. The present vibrates with hope. Scientific management must be extended to embrace a sound knowledge not only of machinery of production and distribution, "but also of the best methods of organizing beneficently the natural impulses and energies of the workers, and of the most effective means, too, of stimulating and withal satisfying the deepest needs of us all. Moreover, both the articulate and the inarticulate just aspirations of our newly awakened democracy must be patiently cultivated, yet kept within wise control till the workers in every branch of

industry have everywhere learned something of the extent, significance and responsibility of the tasks which confront the technician, the works manager and the administrator."

These three books, and the earlier works upon which they are based, represent the direct facing of the personal problem in industry as the biggest one before the administrator, the efficiency engineer or the psychologist in business. None of them offers a nostrum guaranteed to cure all but each represents a sincere attempt at meeting this problem through the various means offered by common-sense and scientific methodology.

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THE TREND OF ECONOMICS. Edited by Rexford Guy Tugwell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1924, xl, 556 pp. \$4.00.

This curious volume—it can hardly be called a book unless everything within two covers is to bear that name—is regarded by its editor as a "sort of manifesto of the younger generation." "Each contributor was asked plainly and briefly to write out what he had in his mind concerning economics. And that was about all there was to it." Yes, that is about all there is to it. There is little economics and less trend—unless the following summary by Professor Wesley Mitchell can be taken to indicate a trend:

Economics will develop rapidly on the quantitative side, it will lay increasing emphasis upon the production of serviceable goods, it will focus its attention upon the cumulative change of institutions, it will realize that it is one of the sciences of human behavior, as such it will become less the science of wealth and more the science of welfare, from this new viewpoint it will gain clearer insight into its relationship to other sciences, its past accomplishments and its future tasks.

We hope so, devoutly. But precisely how a science of welfare (undefined and undefinable) which is also a science of behavior, is to develop rapidly upon the quantitative side, increasingly emphasizing (however little some of its votaries may like that emphasis) the production of goods, focussing its attention meanwhile upon the cumulative change of institutions—all this is not so clear as it might be, nor does the study of this volume make it much clearer.

What the patient reader can discover in this manifesto is some interesting evidence of the



state of mind of the "younger generation"; and as the editor's contribution is most typical of this particular species of *weltschmerz*, a word on it may be useful.

On page 377 Professor Tugwell gives a partial list of the "social problems of America." At least two out of the seventeen would be classed as economic by the older generation—assuming it could understand them; they are: "Incomes; the difficulties of correlation between changing standards, changing price levels, and wage or salary rates"; and "The relations and inter-relations between producing and consuming groups." The rest include "The relations between husband and wife and between parents and children under the new conditions"; "The decline of the old religions and the longing for a new religious experience"; "Problems of war and peace," etc. Far be it from us to deny that these are problems, or the suggestions of problems; but in a paper whose title is "Experimental Economics" the mode of their propounding leaves perhaps something to be desired. The enumeration of specific problems in Prof. Hale's essay may be warmly commended as an antidote.

In the solution of these problems Prof. Tugwell has no use whatever for classical or neo-classical economics. In the totality of his rejection he stands as a matter of fact alone in the volume; but that does not curb his magnificent propensity to generalize. "*We* are just beginning to see that *we* shall really have to begin all over." The following may perhaps serve to illustrate the conception of classical economics that is thus rejected:

Those nineteenth century economists who formulated the so-called dismal laws of economics, neglected the one obvious fact that "gives way the whole show." Man need not press upon his food supply if he wills not to and so can genuinely raise the levels of living; diminishing returns will never set in so long as man continues to exercise his intelligence. . . . The most useful result of eighteenth and nineteenth century economic thinking seems to us now to have been the formulation of "laws" which men immediately set to work to circumvent—and did! One has only to consider Malthusianism for an illustration. . . . Social scientists can be pretty sure that the law of diminishing returns has outlived any similar usefulness ("as a generalization upon which to premise further scientific research") it once may have had in economics.

It is but fair to the rest of the contributors (one hopes they appreciate the "we" of which their editor is so fond!) to point out that nowhere else is there evidence of misreading quite so gross as this. There is however an impression manifest in several of these papers, including Prof. Wesley Mitchell's, that the early nineteenth century economists were less interested in, or less in touch with the facts and issues of social and business life than economists are today; though how it arose we prefer not to speculate.

Prof. Tugwell's contribution is an exordium in very general terms of the "new experimentalism." But we look in vain in his paper for a single citation of a genuine experiment, or even for a clear conception of the nature of experimental method. None the less, his hopes of it are apparently as boundless as they are vague. The vagueness is due to an intoxication with "uplift" phraseology of which the following is typical:

What is wanted is the kind of conduct that leads to higher living levels and greater achievement. . . . There are some human demands that ought to be met. We must locate and define these and accept them as determiners for the conscious changes we shall make in industrial arrangements.

But enough. So much of this paper has been quoted because it is typical of a mental condition which is common in greater or less degree to many of the young American writers. In Europe this postwar spiritual malaise has worked itself out partly in *belles lettres* and *vers libre* (Prof. Tugwell's talents are clearly literary, despite occasional grammatical slips) and partly in action. In America the physical and social circumstances—foremost among them, the actual prosperity of the country—have denied it adequate sublimation, and it is concentrated on the social sciences. The result is a temper that is too impatient to be scholarly or scientific, and at the same time too genuinely idealistic to be content with a materialist economics. It has become customary to speak of "radicalism" in this connection; but the lack of definition of that term has wrought enough harm for it to be given no further currency. We shall briefly indicate some further consequences of this attitude.

The hasty thinking and careless writing to which in some cases it leads will work its own reward

and need not be taken too seriously. But the mood results also in the misapplication of a good deal of painstaking labor. Here, for example, is Prof. Paul Douglas writing a paper on "Non-commercial incentives" that consists mainly of biographical notes on famous inventors and scientists; and failing to see that it is precisely because of the exceptional nature of the motivation in such cases that they are distinguished. Prof. Douglas is justifiably impatient of the over-emphasis of the economic incentive; but that fact should make him, and all who sympathize with him, more and not less careful of their methodology. Again, here is Prof. J. M. Clark

suggesting that instead of taking the quality of man for granted and focussing attention on quantity output, it may be more pertinent for the social student (sic) to take quantity output for granted—business will see to that—and direct his chief attention to the qualitative effects on humanity of the things they do in their inevitable (but largely self-defeating) striving after increased per capita wealth.

Possibly, on the face of it; but the basis of science is the selective classification of facts, and the determinant of the selection is the prospect of definitive results.

The main preoccupation, in some phase or other, of several writers in this volume is the discrepancy between the individual calculus and the social consequence. By far the best statement of this, especially as it bears on the theory of competition, is made by Prof. Slichter, who by dint of a careful and objective study has made a real contribution to the subject. A plucky attempt to state and solve the problem along pecuniary lines is that of Prof. Copeland, who writes on "Communities of Economic Interest." We doubt the feasibility of the author's proposal for the integration of total advantage and disadvantage in pecuniary terms; but at any rate on its analytical side his work is a useful effort to carry forward that of Pigou.

Three papers dealing explicitly with methodology may be mentioned in conclusion. The most useful—and the best written in the volume—is that of Prof. Knight on "The Limitations of Scientific Method." The author's conclusions are rather more pessimistic than they need be on his own data—perhaps he had just been reading Prof. Tugwell's essay—but the paper is an excellent

piece of sane thinking and careful exposition. Prof. Bye contributes a cautious restatement—which is at the same time a vindication—of the marginal method; his general position is indicated in the sentence "Let us keep pure economics as a science of wealth; then alongside it we can develop the applied science which considers the relation of wealth to welfare." Prof. Mills' study of "Measurement in Economics" supplements that of Prof. Knight with a clear exposition of the nature, the possibilities and the limits of statistical induction.

If a word of advice to publisher and editor may be tendered, we would suggest that more than mere compilation is needed to make a volume of this kind really useful. As it stands the production is neither a source book nor a book of reference, and its importance is symptomatic only. The usefulness of any other composite effort will depend on some synthetic plan of arranging or coördinating the subject-matter. As to the writers, the editor in his introduction remarks that "none of us has published a book of the traditional sort called *The Principles of Economics* (though several of the group have such books under way) and so cannot be said to have given definite theoretical hostages." At least one such book has since appeared. We would encourage the other writers to persist in their efforts. After all, principles are sometimes useful.

WILLIAM ORTON.

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PLAIN TALKS ON ECONOMICS. By Fabian Franklin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, ix, 353 pp. \$3.00.

The title is a fair and excellent description of this endeavor to put over the fundamentals of economics to the general reader. Mr. Franklin's exposition is "plain," clear, forceful, effective; and "sound," one is tempted to say, to a fault. It is the work of an old man, competent and successful in varied affairs of life, very sane, very wise: Polonius giving advice to Laertes. Temperate and fair in statement, the position is "orthodox." One can hardly deny that most of what the author says is true, and important; and one closes the book with a realization, tinged,



possibly, with bitterness, of the justice of Carlyle's epithet, the dismal science. The feeling is not dispelled by the protests of the author, that "A clear understanding of the principles of Economics does not interfere with high aspiration or noble endeavor, but only with the futilities of unthinking sentimentalists and the self-satisfaction of dilettante reformers." In such a world do we live; the dreamer of better things must be hardheaded as well as soft-hearted. But the combination makes a hard lesson to learn—and a harder one to teach. It is inevitable that some of us will place the emphasis more on one side and others more on the other, and that men of Mr. Franklin's age and position will be eloquent on behalf of seeing the things that are rather than those that (perhaps) might be.

Of the two parts of the book, the first, on *Leading Principles*, is only a little over half the length of the second, on *Issues of Today*, and the first is much the less satisfactory of the two. It is explicitly unsystematic as well as brief, and its orthodoxy is in fact rather that of a generation ago than that of today. The worst theoretical blemish is the acceptance of the outlandish rent theory of profit of General Walker. The whole idea of differentials is being more generally recognized as essentially meaningless, and discarded, even in the case of land rent. It does not explain rent to say that the value of a given piece of land is the difference between its value and that of a piece which has no value at all. Moreover, the differential idea is just as applicable to the other shares in distribution as it is to rent, as was explicitly pointed out by Hobson and Clark in the early nineties and had been fairly well recognized twenty years before that in the writings of the founders of the modern school, Jevons, Menger and Walras. And certainly it is meaningless to have more than one differential or residual in any system—more than one share explained by saying that it gets what is left after the others are paid,—and this is what the differential theory amounts to. (General Walker managed to give for at least three of the shares this illuminating treatment!) In this part are excellent brief discussion of demand, supply and price, with pointed illustrations, also of the theory of money, and especially of for-

eign trade. It closes with a chapter on diminishing "productiveness" and population. Aside from the modern illustrations there is not much in the way of content that cannot be found in Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*.

Part Two begins with a discussion of the business cycle, necessarily superficial, but going about as far as present knowledge warrants. Then follow brief chapters on Monopoly, Unionism (the monopoly element emphasized), Coöperation and Profit-Sharing, Taxation, Protection, Changes in the Value of Money, Laissez-Faire, Social Justice and Socialism. The treatment is always fair, but conservative, if humanitarian, in tone. In the reviewer's opinion, disparagement of the importance of consumers' coöperation amounts to definite error. A foot-note admits that the British coöperatives carry on some production, but denies that it is real coöperative manufacturing. The author has not glimpsed the revolutionary possibilities of the movement as pointed out by L. S. Woolf in England and Dr. Warbasse in this country. The single tax is thoroughly "exposed" but the author falls into the fallacy of Mill (and Taussig) in failing to see that an increment tax is confiscation of the corresponding part of the present value. The statement that the business cycle is "caused by a fluctuating standard of value" (p. 237) is oversimplified, and that the excess profits tax was a war measure and did more harm than good under peace conditions is *not* agreed upon by "nearly all competent authorities" (p. 189).

The best part of the book is the final chapters, on Laissez-Faire, Social Justice, Socialism, and Economics and Life. Space permits particular mention of but one point, and the most interesting one is the author's contention that, contrary to general opinion, "Socialism may, for aught we know, be a practical possibility, but . . . is not a beautiful ideal" (p. 320). It is a good book. But the reviewer cherishes the hope that it will not altogether convince reformers and idealists that life would be spoiled by bringing into it (p. 321) "freedom from anxious care on the one hand, and from goading ambition on the other."

F. H. KNIGHT.

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**ECONOMICS OF THE HOUSEHOLD: ITS ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE.** By Benjamin R. Andrews. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, vii, 623 pp. \$3.25.

As stated in the preface of this comprehensive study, it was prepared by the author for use as a college textbook. Dr. Andrews' familiarity with this specialized field of economics and his knowledge of its literature make the book of importance to those who need not alone a work of reference but of evaluation. If it fulfills the hopes of the author and his well-wishers, it will assist clubwomen, teachers, social workers, and all, both men and women, who in economics give "increasing attention to its application to agriculture, manufacturing, trade, transportation, salesmanship, and occasionally to the economic problems of the consumer." (Pref., vi.) Of special interest to the general reader are the discussions of the home and the household in their social aspects; the defense of the status quo, with the husband as the financial head of the house, in the chapters dealing with income and expenditures; the sound sense of the study of investment and insurance; and the survey of the housing situation in America as it affects unmarried workers as well as families. The wise comments in Chapters VIII and IX on the family table as "the seed-bed of family unity" are particularly commended to the attention of social psychologists. Discussion of other problems of consumption is enhanced in value by an adequate index and good bibliographies. The teacher has for aid an Appendix containing supplementary problems for class work. From the standpoint of scholarly handling of a vast amount of material, and of cogent and lucid presentation, the book leaves little to be desired.

In a world in which men, women, and children were wisely and comfortably adjusted to the income levels, with the husband and father bringing home his pay envelope to a wife who contributed her full share in administration and management, the assumptions of this excellent book would probably hold true. Inspection of the actual situation in families at almost any social and economic level reveals the fact that the economic family unit, the household (pp. 5-7), has ceased to function as a productive unit, while it has not kept pace with the world of commerce and industry in taking on the functions of organization and administration. For such efficiency

one must look to "institution households" (p. 18) and to the coöperative efforts cited in the chapters on food and housing. As a matter of fact, in spite of "culture lag," the family institution is involved in change. Its foundations are so deeply laid in biology and the primary satisfactions that instinct and habit will combine to delay recognition of the process until it is nearly completed. It is quite possible that if we could measure rate of change, it would be found to be quite as rapid in America as in England and on the continent, where the economic crisis has forced the situation into consciousness. But we must wait a while for such a dissection of our method of providing for families as Miss Rathbone has given the English family. In the meantime we need further detailed study of the transition of the American family-household from its adjustment to rural and village conditions to its present precarious situation under industrial conditions. Such a work should include Dr. Andrews' analysis of the child's induction into the occupations and his importance as a contributor to the real income of the family, because of the general agreement that this is one of the danger-points in the transition. We need more information, free from propaganda, on the present status of women as mothers and as wage-earners, and the relation of our present situation to the quality and quantity of the birth-rate. Such material is so vitally related to the intelligence and efficiency of all workers, and the happiness and well-being of homes, that we cannot afford to omit it. If the social sciences have reached the stage in which they can assist in placing the services of child-bearing and child-rearing, of home-making and housekeeping on a footing of economic security and social honor, their value will have become intelligible to the plain man and woman. Dr. Andrews' book gives us the foundation for such a study.

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**QUESTIONS OF THE HOUR.** By Viscount Milner. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923, 173 pp. \$3.00.

The return to power in Great Britain of the Conservative Party by an overwhelming majority does not ensure that the policies to be expected



from it are necessarily limited to such as would appeal to such typical American conservatives as Judge Gary and General Wood. Viscount Milner is spokesman for a group of Tories who have discovered that this is not the best of all possible worlds, and who are ready to scrutinize the foundations of the society to which they owe their position in order to make it better.

As Lord Milner states the problem in this sequence of essays, the plain fact is that "the mass of the people are not better off but worse off than before the war, and a great deal worse off than they were while the war lasted." Although for half a century the number of paupers in Great Britain has seldom fallen below a million, he finds it "perfectly impossible to believe that abject poverty is the inevitable lot of any considerable number of people. . . . We do not produce enough to supply their elementary needs. But why don't we?" The answer in Lord Milner's book runs in terms to which Sidney and Beatrice Webb could subscribe without reservation. The present industrial system "mismanages, misdirects and therefore unduly limits production." To relieve this waste and the concurrent instability of employment, Milner urges that "the people actually engaged in any industry should themselves be its capitalists, or, in so far as they need the assistance of external capital, should pay for the use of it without becoming subject to the control of its possessor." Instead of capital hiring labor, labor should hire capital. Here is Guild Socialism set forth with unusual vigor and formulated in terms which make it appear almost a matter of practical politics.

It is not enough for Milner, however, to reorganize society in Great Britain. The welfare of the British people demands the development of their "dependent empire." The point of view which censures the control of backward peoples by aliens, Milner deems "fanatical." The fact that only Great Britain under present circumstances can bring to the peoples of Nigeria, Malaya or the Sudan "the primary blessings of law and order" gives her "a moral title which cannot easily be impugned." Moreover it gives her advantages of the most concrete character, if the countries in question are developed to their capacities. The huge debt of England to the

United States "is the most serious feature in our whole economic position," and this debt can be paid in no way more surely than by colonial development. "The British Colonies and Dependencies, as they grow, will need an increasing quantity of manufactured goods, which, unless we throw away our opportunities, they will get mainly from us, while America will stand in increasing need of certain raw materials which she can get only from them." Thus an indirect trade may be promoted facilitating the regular liquidation of the British debt to the United States. Lord Milner does not consider the possibility of exploitation of other tropical areas by American capital, which might interfere with the smooth functioning of this program.

It is significant that in his outlook for the empire, Milner places no weight upon those parts of it which are already in the way of becoming independent. India does not fit into his analysis at all. While as for such dominions as Canada and Australia, he recognizes that they will not continue long to be exclusively agricultural colonies. They will develop an industrial life of their own and add other economic functions to that of supplying food-stuffs to the British market. As a corollary, Milner believes that agriculture should be encouraged in Great Britain; that the produce of the soil might easily be doubled without straining the resources. Both for dominions and the mother country, home trade must be primary and empire trade secondary. The future has in store increasing economic independence for the parts of the empire. But there remain great dependent areas to be developed under control for the benefit of the masses and the painless liquidation to the debt to the United States.

Lord Milner's essays, cogent in reasoning and of classic stateliness in structure, recall a wartime atmosphere. They are redolent of the days when every philosopher had a new world in his brief-case and another undergoing elaboration at the hands of his secretary. In every line they bespeak confidence in the power of men of trained expertness and administrative tact to give direction to politics and industry. They are to be commended as a tonic to Americans suffering from post-election cynicism.

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## MAN AND NATURE

FRANKLIN THOMAS

GEOGRAPHY AND WORLD POWER. By James Fairgrieve. London: University of London Press, Ltd., new edition, 1924, viii, 373 pp. \$2.50.

INHERITING THE EARTH. By O. D. Von Engeln. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923, xvi, 379 pp. \$2.00.

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS. AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY IN HUMAN AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. By Marion I. Newbigin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1924, 222 pp. \$2.75.

FAIRGRIEVE'S work is one of the most stimulating of recent English contributions to descriptive and historical anthropogeography and affords an excellent illustration of the present day interest in relating the fields of geography and history. It is in fact a brief and illuminating review of world history in its geographical setting:

This book is written to show how the history of the world has been controlled by those conditions and phenomena which we class together under the title of Geography, and to point out which are the really essential geographical facts by noting those which have most effectively controlled the history. In that sentence there are three words about whose meaning we must be quite clear. They are "History," "controlled," "Geography." (p. 1.)

As to the meaning of history Fairgrieve contends that it is not merely a record of events, even of the more important ones, nor a summary of their causes and effects, but "an orderly relation of events which show the processes whereby man has gradually come to be able to use more and more energy, together with a statement of the causes and results of these events." Or again, "it may be said that in its widest sense on its material side history is the story of man's increasing ability to control energy."

By geographical control Fairgrieve does not mean absolute geographical determinism, but rather the conditioning influence of geographic factors, which include rivers, lakes, mountains, swamps, deserts and the sea. "When we say 'history is controlled by geography,' we do not say that man is compelled by geography to use more and more energy, but that the precise way in which he has come to do this is largely con-

trolled by geography." The two chief types of geographical controls are *place* and *potential* energy. By *place* he means the location of the habitat of a given people with respect to its geographical surroundings and its relation to other localities. The latter aspect has become especially important in modern history. As to *energy* and its human utilization, this is chiefly the human appropriation of the energy of the sun. Hence arises the importance of studying the distribution of solar energy on the earth. He then proceeds to survey the course of human history on the basis of these introductory generalizations, but space does not allow us to follow him into the descriptive and analytical details of his work.

Fairgrieve takes a glimpse also at future possibilities, in which his "geographical controls" of human activity and what most writers would include under *human control* of geographic factors are quite similar. Geographical controls, he says, "act in many different ways according to the amount and kind of knowledge and experience which man has accumulated." This view is suggestive of Buckle's theory that history is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical factors and an increasing importance of psychological and cultural factors. Advancement may come in two ways—first, the controls we now have might act in different ways, and second, supplies of energy not hitherto available might be utilized. Moreover, sources of energy now in use might be exhausted, as, for example, coal fields, oil fields, and productive soils. If the world's consumption of coal were to increase at its present rate all of the sources in England, Germany and the United States would be exhausted in about one hundred and fifty years. The same holds true of the known supply of petroleum, which will probably be exhausted in a much shorter time.

As to the possible future utilization of supplies of energy not now available, Fairgrieve offers some interesting suggestions. First, the energy of the tides might be used, and that of the winds to a much greater extent than at pres-



ent, although the original cost of such enterprises would doubtless be high in proportion to the returns. Moreover, if all the water power of the world were to be utilized, the energy produced would fall far short of the amount now obtained from coal. It is evident, therefore, that other sources of energy must be found, and the author discusses several possibilities including ways of using "energy given out by certain forms of matter," e.g. radium, means of using the earth's internal heat, new methods by which larger crops can be obtained from a given area, improved varieties of wheat and similar products, ways of utilizing the energy in the vast growth of vegetation in the tropics, better methods of alleviating human suffering, and the possibility of turning to account the stupendous amount of solar radiation in the deserts. In all of the changes suggested, whether they are now within man's reach or merely dreams of future achievement, "geography would still control the course of history, but it would control it in a different way." (P. 345.)

Von Engel's book undertakes to demonstrate the dependence of economics upon geography. The author is interested "not so much to show that human organization and development have been determined by geographical conditions," as he is in insisting "that in the future they *should* be." *Place*, he says, is the most important consideration, if man is to inherit the earth, and regional geography "the initial field of study." He emphasizes the need of an understanding of *environmental control* in order that man may learn how to utilize the resources of his environment as intelligently and as completely as possible.

Seeking the ultimate basis of nationality the author discusses and rejects skin color, head form, language, and religion, concluding that "the one comprehensive and completely satisfactory explanation of the origin and development of nationality is to be found in the adjustment of peoples to the lands in which they live." The native qualities are much the same in all nations and remain unchanged throughout the development of culture. The changes in people really come about through the effort of each succeeding generation to become accustomed to its environment. Allowance is made for the cultural factor, however, when the author states that the

"place" alone does not *determine* the nation, for the character of the people must be taken into consideration. Thus two different peoples would not follow exactly the same development as a nation in the same environment.

Three conditions must be present to foster the growth of a great nation: (1) Opportunity, (2) Necessity, (3) Protection. Only the temperate regions possess all three of these requirements in the proper proportions, the tropics lacking the stimulating urge of necessity and the cold regions suffering from a conspicuous lack of opportunity. In order to make the best use of opportunity people must learn to live together amiably, and the author dwells upon the futility of nations being hostile to each other, if mankind is to inherit the earth. The fact that nations are inter-dependent must be recognized before they can exist in harmony and enjoy in full measure the fruits of the earth, as each region must furnish for the common good those products which it is best fitted by nature to supply. The temperate zones should be made to produce maximum crops through improved organization, the application of new inventions and the adoption of increasingly efficient methods. The enormous untapped resources of the tropics must be developed and utilized to the fullest extent by the peoples of the temperate regions for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

The author seems deeply moved by a Malthusian fear that the population of the earth at its present rate of increase is bound to outrun the food supply unless heroic measures are taken to prevent the impending calamity. One feels like suggesting at this point that the stupendous increase in the population of the world since the Industrial Revolution is due to what the author himself calls "Opportunity," and that population follows opportunity and advancement in methods of utilizing natural resources rather than the other way around. However, the position taken by not a few recent writers that we are entering a period of diminishing returns in agriculture, and that the possible increase of the world's food supply is more definitely limited than the potential increase of population may furnish some real basis for the author's fear. In his injunction to the peoples of the temperate zones to develop the resources of the tropics in the interest of mankind

all over the world there is an assumption of the cultural supremacy of the white race which reminds us of the theories of Gobineau, Chamberlain and Grant regarding particular branches of that race, and his views are suggestive of an attempt to justify the exploitation of the tropics by the white man.

The book is interesting and is a noteworthy contribution to the literature of anthropogeography, particularly to that part which deals with the question of man's control over his physical surroundings.

The volume by the talented British geographer, Marion I. Newbigin, is the first thoroughgoing study in the English language of the relations between geography and history in the Mediterranean area. The standard work on the geography of this region was written some twenty years ago by Alfred Philippon, but his *Mittelmeergebiet* was more of a survey of the physiography of the district than a study in human geography. Miss Newbigin devotes only one-fourth of her space to the strictly physiographic aspects of the problem, and reserves the remainder for an analysis of the part played by geographic factors in limiting and controlling the development of the ancient oriental civilizations, the rise and expansion of Greece and Rome, the coming of Islam, the industry and trade of the medieval period and the invasion of Europe by the Turks. Geographic factors are looked upon as including not only topography and land and water distribution, but also economic resources, forest areas, agricultural opportunities, and even the various methods used by man in mastering and exploiting the physical environment. Her story discusses the rise of civilization in the regions of the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates, the decline of this fluvial civilization and the rise of the thalassic, which in turn was followed by the oceanic. The thalassic period extended from the beginning of the Cretan civilization to the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (A.D.), which ushered in the Commercial Revolution and the oceanic stage of world history. In tracing man's progress from the narrow and limited resources of the fluvial and thalassic cultures into the broader oceanic age, Miss Newbigin has made an important contribution to what Guyot once called the "geographical march of history."

The work is well done throughout, but Miss Newbigin is at her best when she deals with the historical geography of the various civilizations of the Balkan area. On the geography of this district she is one of the foremost authorities. As might be expected, her treatment of historical geography is somewhat more facile than her mastery of historical facts, though she apparently has no mean command of the latter. In some chapters she evidences a knowledge of recent works such as the new *Cambridge Ancient History*; in others, however, she apparently relies on antiquated productions. Historians are quite likely to balk at her statement that "the great source of facts in regard to the later days of Rome is of course Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. As a whole, however, little effective criticism can be directed against the book. It is clearly and interestingly written, does not seriously overemphasize the geographical factor, and recognizes the active part played by man and culture. It should be extremely serviceable to teachers and students of geography, history, economics and sociology, who are indebted to Miss Newbigin for a useful and authoritative contribution.

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THE BASIS OF SOCIAL THEORY. By Albert G. A. Balz, with the collaboration of William S. A. Pott. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, xxx, 252 pp. \$2.00.

From the point of view of the author of this volume the basis of social theory must be an "adequate Social Psychology." In fact, three quarters of the material here presented deals with a philosophical discussion of what this adequate social psychology must be. It is largely in the lengthy introduction and in the final chapter that the implications of this material for social theory are given.

In the opening chapter Professor Balz maintains, following the lead of Dewey and others, that the fundamental datum of psychology is really the social situation which includes the individuals and the necessary physical objects in differential juxtapositions. Psychology must constantly recognize the fact of group life if it is to contribute to the social sciences. The older "strict" psychology which borrowed its stand-



point and technique from physics and from physiology of a half-century ago must give way to the more thorough recognition of the close interrelation of person to person in the origin and function of consciousness and behavior. Society is not an aggregation of individuals coming together from their peculiar separateness to form groups. The individual, in fact, as Cooley long ago showed is the highest product of group life. Balz puts it well when he remarks:

To take these agents (leaders, geniuses, special contributors to society) as differential factors gives the central meaning of that which is implied by the individual as in contrast with society.

While we must recognize the group as the core of social consciousness, we must examine further into the problem of human nature, on the one hand, and of environment, on the other. Without examining these dual sources of the social situation we shall not be able to arrive at the desired basis of social theory. There follow, then, four chapters which treat human nature under the rubrics of instincts and capacities in their related functioning.

In the second chapter there is very appropriate criticism of the alleged dichotomy between "original nature" and nurture. The author shows that we must ever bear in mind that innateness is not some *thing* which remains a constant in the personality, unmodified in itself, but suffering only additions of habits brought about through the individual's contact with the environment. So too, the author well indicates the false separation of the environment into "physical" and "psychic" or social. For the new-born infant there is no such distinction. In fact, it is just here that one sees the strength of the contention that the data of psychology are not strictly segregable into that which concerns the individual in his group life, on the one side, and in his relations with the objective, physical world, on the other. Even our responses to the physical world are socially determined in very large measure, and certainly all the higher features of the human mind are the product of the inter-play of mind on mind in groups.

The two features of human nature to which the writer addresses himself most fully deal with instinctive tendencies and with "capacities." The instinctive tendencies are the more deeply in-

grained and furnish the core of the impulses which drive us to action. However, through the capacities for learning, that is, through intelligence, these cruder impulses are modified into stable motives. It is these motives which the social scientist must know in order to deal effectively with his problems.

The author reviews at some length the traditional treatment of instincts, presenting his own contention throughout that at best we must think of these largely as tendencies possessing wide margins of modification. Nevertheless, there is no real denial of the great place which the innate trends have in life. It is the capacities, however, which give man his greatest hold on the universe. These offer possibilities for altering conduct and hence the whole structure of our living most significantly. The author summarizes the matter as follows:

Our capacities and abilities constitute the basis of the possibility of indirect reaction or response. The checking of reaction, the internal elaboration of a plan of action, and the distribution of energies in new directions would be impossible unless we possessed the powers denoted by such terms as attention, memory, imagination and foresight. The invention of the instrumentalities of symbols, signs, and tools, and the capacity to make use of them depend upon the establishment of these powers resident in human nature. On the other hand, the tendencies . . . called instinctive represent the chief drives in action. They determine the dominant interests of life and consequently the main courses of action.

There is, moreover, an innate basis to these higher capacities, which seem to have been evolved along with or in super-relation to the cruder instincts. Through learning these generalized capacities become more and more concrete and fasten upon specific situations in the form of habits. Habits, in turn, are the core of mores, traditions, and social controls. But man has not only capacity for habit-formation, he has possibilities for invention of new forms of tools, of novel means of social control, etc. This use of invention and of foresight has been the means of altering our environment at an accelerating rate until today our mechanical environment, at least, has outstripped our deeper instinctive tendencies which evolved over long ages of time in the presence of simpler group life and more distinctly natural surroundings. This alteration

of the correlation of instinctive tendencies and the environment has produced a great deal of maladjustment which some have designated as evil. It is more sensible, however, to recognize that this dislocation in the relation of instinctive forces and the modern environment is itself a phase of really dynamic progress. We may expect that with the increased development of our capacities and with the rise of a true science of human nature we may wipe out the more serious features of this disparity between the older instinctive roots of our personalities and the demands which civilization has made of us.

It is here, in short, that Dewey's instrumentalism comes into play. The intellect has really developed in the service of the instinctive trends and we must look to it more and more to lead the way to the correlation of instincts to the environment. This is the problem of social control. This is the dilemma with which we are faced, if we are to make our boasted progress worth while. After all is said and done, the social situation, which we have as the basis of human development, implies values and values may run through a gamut of their own, from those which result in freedom and growth for a few to those formulations of values which mean growth and expansion for large masses of people. Through the socialization of the instinctive tendencies, through the recognition of the "crucial importance of intelligence" we may hope to evolve a society where the group life will be of such a nature that the highest form of individualization is made possible. This is what the author seems to mean by his hope in "an increasingly rational and enlightened control of social processes."

This book furnishes us, on the whole, with a very convenient brief statement of the relation of social psychology to the older disciplines of the social sciences. While it is largely philosophic in tone, it will serve the student of social relations an additional cue to the rising re-orientation of the whole matter of human nature and conduct. The viewpoint is throughout much indebted to Dewey and his school, but this is not to gainsay the originality of presentation and of conception which the writer has given us.

The reviewer must remark, however, that we have here, as in some other present treatises in

social theory and social psychology, something of a failure to recognize the place which emotional set, which sentiment and deep-laid attitude still play in social control. It is a question, still, whether or not what changes are made in social conduct must not come through the mediation of alterations in emotional attitude, changes in sentiments and beliefs, rather than in terms of more rational and objective thought. That is to say, intelligence in the form of scientific contribution may point the way to change, but the changes themselves can only come when they are fastened into the mores, folkways and habits of people. And this latter, of course, means an appeal to emotions and instinctive tendencies throughout. It would have been well for Professor Balz to indicate this dominance of the emotional and instinctive patterns even in these consciously controlled changes.

KIMBALL YOUNG.

University of Oregon.

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THE LOGIC OF CONDUCT. By James MacKaye. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924, 486 pp. \$3.00.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND MAN'S UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVES. By André Tridon. New York: Brentano's, 1924, 208 pp. \$2.50.

RE-CREATING HUMAN NATURE. By Charles W. Hayward. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, 286 pp. \$2.00.

From its beginning sociology has been the science most consciously concerned with the possibilities of making human experience more satisfying. In the past, however, it has had no substantial basis for the concrete betterment of man himself, since it has had no science of conduct and man has always been the central problem in the program for a better civilization.

It is easy to exaggerate the progress that has recently been made in our study of behavior. At least science has taken over the task of understanding man in his social activities. Conduct as a field of serious investigation has broken away from philosophy, and man himself is being studied by the methods that, applied to the physical world, have given us our most convincing demonstration of the effectiveness of science.



This scientific attitude toward human conduct is still almost exclusively that of the specialist. The great mass of people, even those who occupy positions that give them control over others, teachers, employers or parents, have little appreciation of the significance of the new attitude toward conduct. There are those, however, who are beginning to get a glimmer of the information that is being gathered concerning man's desires, and they are curious and at times even fascinated. This interest, awakened by discussions of concrete problems of behavior that in one way or another have percolated into popular expression, is proving for the charlatan, crank and sensational expositors a field rich for harvesting.

Menacing as are these irresponsible interpreters of the new psychology and sociology, they nevertheless push forward the conception of a science of conduct. That this new way of looking at man's behavior has dynamite clinging to it who would dare deny? And yet until the ideal of a science of conduct is generally accepted and taken for granted in the everyday world, science can do little for man's social welfare, since it would be largely obstructed by a widespread inertia and firmly rooted superstition.

The three books reviewed belong to the group of those that, although lacking scientific precision, sincerely attempt to make the general reader sympathetic toward the work of the specialist.

Science has proved itself remarkably successful in satisfying man's material wants. Why not, suggests Mr. MacKaye, make use of science for the establishment of a wholesome and efficient moral code? The purpose of *The Logic of Conduct* therefore is to demonstrate that a scientific guide to conduct should tend to create a moral civilization in the same way that a scientific guide to belief has created a material civilization. The book is written in the form of dialogue that combines the methods of Plato and Euclid, and consists of a series of logical steps brought out by the conversation of Senior and Junior. Each discussion represents a daily session brief enough to hold attention; each session ends with conclusions that summarize the discussion, and these become premises for subsequent discussions.

The goal of the series of dialogues is well expressed by Junior:

We are trying to find out what men ought to do as they go through life. We are trying to make it possible for a man to know the right course of conduct from the wrong one in every contingency that may arise. The question might be put in this way, "What ought a man to do, not in this or that contingency only, but in any or all contingencies?" Or in this way perhaps, "What is the difference between right and wrong conduct?"

Few of the readers of the book will hesitate to agree with Senior when he says:

The medicine man has been superseded in husbandry and medicine, why not in politics? Science has displaced superstition in material, why not in moral matters? Instead of the tom-toms, slogans, headlines, propaganda and limelight posing of the politician, why not the designs, experiments, inventions, research and scientific planning of the engineer? Such methods of thinking and doing can be adapted as well to the end of utility as to that of railroad construction or radio transmission.

But the trouble comes when one asks how a scientific code of morals is to be brought about. The present volume gives little help to anyone who wants an answer to that question; apparently that problem is to be solved by another series of discussions. At the last meeting Junior suggests that Senior throw some light upon the *how* of a scientific morality, and the following dialogue results:

*Senior:* But I am a little stale after so many sessions. Do you not feel the need of a rest?

*Junior:* Yes, but we might as well get this subject off our chest before we take one.

*Sen.* Do you think it advisable?

*Jun.* Yes. I am rather inclined to think so. We might devote five minutes to the matter or ten if need be. Could we cover the ground in that time?

*Sen.* I hardly think so. The technology of utility is considerable of a subject.

*Jun.* It would take another series of sessions perhaps.

*Sen.* That is my judgment.

*Jun.* I am sorry for that, because the weather is now very fine for golf and we cannot afford to give so much attention to other matters.

*Sen.* You feel that such discussions would displace more important things, do you?

*Jun.* Yes, during this beautiful weather we cannot afford to waste time.

*Sen.* Then we had better wait till we have more time to waste.

The average reader will carry from the book the conviction that such philosophical discussion of the possibility of scientific morality are futile and profitless.

Psychoanalysis in the form of the Sunday newspaper feature story is served up by André Tridon in *Psychoanalysis and Man's Unconscious Motives*. Clearly and interestingly written, this book will be eagerly read by the indiscriminating reader who likes his science as he does his soda water, with plenty of flavor and a quantity of fizz. Psychoanalysis can be easily adapted to such presentation by one who has a good newspaper style and no fear of exaggeration. No one has succeeded better in this type of interpretation of the so-called new psychology than Tridon. For the most part the book is harmless enough, but here and there it has, for some readers at least, an element of risk, as, for example when he tells the surprised reader that his easy-going belief in luck is a matter of considerable seriousness:

Do you believe in luck? If so, don't be proud of it and don't inform any but your most intimate friends of that superstition of yours. It is a sign of frightful conceit; it reveals a tendency to make one's self blind to reality, and it is closely related to one of the most severe forms of insanity, paranoia.

The serious student of conduct is inclined to exaggerate the harmfulness of so superficial a treatment of psychoanalysis. Nevertheless it will be fortunate when our most popular interpretations of science are made by the most conscientious and well-equipped specialists.

Hayward's *Re-creating Human Nature* is a book to take seriously for apparently the entire fund of human welfare hangs upon its success. It has a recipe for the making of a new psychology. Just what the author means by the new psychology is not so clear; sometimes it seems to be information and sometimes it becomes human nature itself. It is fortunate we have the book, for no theologian has ever expressed the desperation of the present state of people with greater confidence than Hayward. We are told that "the whole basis of human ideals and activities is wrong and evil, the whole 'view-point' of life degraded, immoral and criminal." Surely it is well that human nature can crawl out of the pit by recreating itself according to the new formula.

The author with so high a mission needs to offer no apology for his denunciation of the evil state of things.

While this book is a "guide to the making of a true psychology in each child, according to the true laws of psycho-synthesis," it is impossible for me to act as such a guide to the true path, without constantly criticizing, explaining and denouncing the present universal pitfalls of ignorance, wrong ideals and evil activities which constitute our present-day "psychology."

The outstanding quality that will remain in the reader's mind with reference to the book is its curiousness. It runs on with the twists and turns of a rural roadside in a mountainous region. The average reader will turn from the book with a hazy idea of what the author means by re-creating human nature, and lukewarm in his response to the author's invitation to join a crusade for the purpose of establishing the new psychology which offers man his only hope for social salvation.

ERNEST R. GROVES.

Boston University.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO TEACHING. By William C. Bagley and John A. H. Keith. MacMillan: New York, 1924, 400 pp. \$3.50.

College teachers of education will find in this book a solution of some of their problems. Perhaps the most general difficulty which the college teacher faces is that which arises out of the fact that the college student finds very little time to prepare for a vocation. The teacher is constantly tempted to assume that the student already has common knowledge of the general subject, although such an assumption regularly leads to disappointment. The pressure of more advanced and specialized topics in the field lures us on to the neglect of a general survey. Here is a book which can be put into the hands of first year students in college classes in education with the assurance that even a rapid reading will make plain the basic concepts and general outline of the whole field. It is written from the professional point of view—it treats controversial subjects broadly so that interest is aroused in further study—it introduces the major topics involved in the professional training of teachers—



and above everything else it impresses the student with the complexity and richness of educational study. It has the virtues of enlightened textbook making—clearness, orderly procedure, and a lack of finality which leads the reader on to further study. The judgments are balanced and undogmatic and the selection of references is excellent. An intelligent student who has read this book is better prepared to take up the subsequent study of advanced technical courses than he would be after a whole year in the average introductory course given in the departments of education.

The book is distinctly modern in emphasis and has largely escaped the evil of exaggerating the claims of biology and psychology in the training of teachers. It is refreshing to find these over-worked subjects taking a place less arrogant than formerly.

H. G. TOWNSEND.

Smith College.

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HUMAN ORIGINS, a Manual of Prehistory. By George Grant MacCurdy, Ph.D. Vol. I, The Old Stone Age and the Dawn of Man and His Arts, 440 pp; Vol. II, The New Stone Age and the Ages of Bronze and Iron, 516 pp. New York: D. Appleton and Company. \$10.00.

A reader whose interest in the prehistoric archaeology and ethnology of Europe is professional will scrutinize the qualifications of the author of any work on this subject before turning over the pages of the work itself. Such a reader will desire to know whether or not the author has a first-hand knowledge of his subject. What experience has he had in the excavation of archaeological sites? Does he know the collections of prehistoric material in European museums? Is he competent to pronounce upon geological and palaeontological questions? Is he a physical anthropologist? Unless he is satisfied with the qualifications of the author, the worker in the field of knowledge dealt with will decline to give serious consideration to his writings.

In the present instance the reader may proceed to the perusal of "Human Origins" with complete confidence that it is the output of a competent scientist writing within the field of his own special

knowledge and experience. Dr. MacCurdy has been trained in the methods of European prehistoric archaeology and in the technique of physical anthropology by the foremost Continental authorities in these subjects. For many years he himself has conducted excavations in prehistoric European sites; his writings have furnished American anthropologists with the latest information on progress of the science in Europe; he is one of the two or three Americans who are recognized abroad as authorities on European prehistoric archaeology. Further he brings to bear upon European questions his extensive experience in the archaeology and physical anthropology of the New World.

To a teacher of European prehistory the outstanding merit of Dr. MacCurdy's work is its comprehensiveness. It deals with the entire prehistoric period. It does not leave the reader stranded on a terminal moraine in the company of fossil men, extinct animals, and chipped stone implements. With the exception of Dechelette's great work (*Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*), now somewhat out-of-date, *Human Origins* is the one satisfactory attempt to carry the prehistory of Man in Europe through to the present era in an adequately detailed treatment.

The first volume deals with the Old Stone Age and fossil man. Here Dr. MacCurdy is at his best. Climatic and geographical conditions, prehistoric chronology, types of fossil men and animals, industries and arts of the various archaeological periods—all these subjects are thoroughly discussed, but with due regard for their relative importance. A disproportionate amount of space is not allotted to any particular feature. MacCurdy does not build his book upon some one aspect of prehistory, subordinating all other subjects to that of his own specialized knowledge and interest. A few crucial points in this volume should be noted. The author accepts the Foxhall eoliths of the Pliocene period; he assigns the Acheulian industry to the Rissian glaciation and places the beginning of the Mousterian industry in the third interglacial (Riss-Wurm) period; he regards the Piltdown mandible as human, but is not certain that it belongs with the associated brain-case fragments. The section on fossil man is concise but complete. In the opinion of the

reviewer Dr. MacCurdy does not sufficiently consider the evidence pointing toward the existence of an essentially modern type of man in the Lower Palaeolithic Age.

The second volume is devoted to the Mesolithic, Neolithic, Iron, and Bronze Ages, and to valuable appendices dealing with the stratigraphy of palaeolithic sites and with the distribution of palaeolithic art and of prehistoric monuments. Appreciation of the inclusion in this work of a summary of the early metal periods has already been expressed. What the author has to say of the Bronze and Iron Ages is, so far as it goes, excellent. But of the 918 pages of text, plates, and bibliography included in the two volumes only 52 pages are devoted to the Bronze Age, and the Iron Ages are crowded into 71 pages. Yet from the historical, ethnological, or archaeological viewpoints these are the most important periods of European prehistory. Fossil man is accorded 136 pages of discussion and recent man receives a scant 7 pages. There is no adequate treatment of late prehistoric and proto-historic racial movements. The reviewer does not cavil at the thorough and detailed treatment of the Palaeolithic Age to which Dr. MacCurdy has devoted the bulk

of his work. He only regrets that the author did not extend his treatise sufficiently to satisfy also the acute academic need for a full discussion of the later periods. Civilization, after all, is cumulative and the nearer the archaeologist approaches to the historical period the more extensive his material becomes and the more numerous and vital are the problems which he must endeavor to solve.

*Human Origins* is the most useful manual of prehistory available to readers of English. It surpasses the work of Dechelette in its superior grasp of problems of physical anthropology. The illustrations of MacCurdy's work are also more numerous and better. The classical French work is, however, better balanced. The scant notice accorded to the archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean area is less excusable in a general manual of prehistory than in a work primarily concerned with the archaeology of France. But, without a doubt, students of prehistory are to be congratulated upon the publication of this scholarly treatise which is the work of no amateur but of a dependable authority.

E. A. HOOTON.

Harvard University.

## TOWARDS HISTORICAL SANITY

HARRY ELMER BARNES

THE PAN-GERMAN LEAGUE, 1890-1914. By Mildred S. Wertheimer. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1924, 256 pp. \$2.50.

LES PREIIVES. LE CRIME DE DROIT COMMUN. LE CRIME DIPLOMATIQUE. By Mathias Morhardt. Paris: Librairie du Travail, 1924, 307 pp. 10 francs.

LA VICTOIRE. By Alfred Fabre-Luce. Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1924, 428 pp. 12 francs.

THERE are at last signs that the great debacle of the devotees of Clio which was produced by the Great War is now beginning to approach an end. With such publications as Professor Fay's articles on the origins of the World War, Montgelas's *Leitfaden zur Kriegsschuldfrage*, and the disillusioning volumes of Signor Nitti, there has appeared evidence of a return to sanity, in spite of such aberrations and anachronisms as the apologia of Asquith and the revised

manual of Professor Hazen. Such symptomology is further demonstrated to an eminent degree by the works under review. We may expect that the pendulum will continue to swing still further in this direction.

During the period of the World War we were regaled by the most absurd stories of the Pan German League and its activities, in such works as the highly imaginary book of Roland G. Usher, the absurd frenzy of André Chéradame, and various anthologies of alleged German opinion prepared and edited for purposes of propaganda in the United States. The general impression gained was that at least ninety per cent of the German people were organized in an iron clad and determined league bent upon the extension of German dominion throughout the world, including the forcible annexation of the United



States. Only an insignificant and feeble minority dared to raise a timid voice in opposition.

In his ambitious and salutary program of executing a thorough study of the rise of modern nationalism, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University delegated one of his graduate students to make an investigation of the Pan-German League as one of the many aspects of German nationalism. The result is embodied in Miss Wertheimer's interesting and convincing doctoral dissertation. Dr. Wertheimer examines in thorough and systematic fashion the origin of the Pan-German League, the constitution and membership of the body, the mode of financing it, its aims and ideals, its methods and activities, its influence upon the German government and German public opinion, and the opinion of leading German and non-German writers as to the nature and significance of the Pan-German League in modern German nationalism. Her conclusions on every point are in almost exact contradiction to the graceful prose of Usher and the wild fictions of Chéradame. Her criticism of the members, aims, policies and methods of the actual League is thorough-going. There is no doubt left as to the gravity and the menacing nature of the program of the members of the League. Their policies were as reprehensible as those of the French League of Patriots, the Maxse gang in England, the followers of D'Annunzio in Italy, or the National Security League and American Defense Society in this country. But there is no evidence that they exerted any appreciable influence upon the actual conduct of German foreign policy. The League was composed of a small group of members whose vociferous patriotism was resonant out of all proportion to their numbers. The largest actual number of members of the League was 21,924 in 1901. In 1912, there were but 17,000 members. With these were affiliated certain other corporate bodies with a membership of about 130,000 in 1906, thus making the *bona fide* membership and nebulous association combined under 150,000 at all periods. Of their viciously aggressive program there can be no doubt. Their "Hundred Percentism" was more far-reaching than that of patrioteers in most other countries, in that they aimed at hundred per cent Teutonism not only in Germany but also among Germans

everywhere in whatever country settled. Had the League been a powerful factor in influencing the policies of the government it would have been a world menace indeed. But there is actually less evidence of the influence of the League on the German Reichstag than of the Navy League and the National Security League upon the Congress of the United States. And even old Prof. Ernst Haase, the wildest mouthpiece of the League in the Reichstag, was scarcely worse than our own late Gus Gardner. The conclusions of the author are essentially those of the distinguished German publicist, Dr. Otto Hammann, which may be quoted:

The activity of the Pan-Germans with its systematic madness was confined to an upper nationalistic stratum of people, with all the utter deficiency of half education in political affairs and did not reach deep down into the people as a whole. In this class, the superman of Nietzschean philosophy was embodied in its grossest form—a German Michel who imagined himself to be the true heir of Bismarck even though he lacked the best qualities of his hero—the fine feeling of what was possible in the field of *Realpolitik*. . . . They exerted some influence upon domestic affairs, but none upon foreign policy.

One important fact must be borne in mind in considering why it is now possible to view the Pan-German League in a more sane fashion. From 1914 onward it was believed in Allied countries that German aggression alone caused the war. Hence it was necessary to account for the unique German aggressiveness, and the League, as the most blatant expression of German nationalism, was eagerly seized upon as the explanation. Now we know that, while the German militarism and the British imperialism and navalism were the two most important factors in causing the development of the armed camp situation in Europe by 1910, the Franco-Russian ambitions were what actually precipitated the war in 1914. Hence, we can listen to sober facts which deflate alike our notions of the degree of German responsibility for the World War and of the significance of the Pan-German League in shaping German foreign policy. Yet, one cannot escape the conviction of the menacing nature in any country of a strongly organized group of professional patriots, but as long as persons of the stripe of S. Stanwood Menken function

freely in this country, we can scarcely in good taste offer suggestions to Germany or England.

Morhardt's trenchant work is another addition to the literature of French candor and honesty in the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the World War, as earlier evidenced in the writings of Marchand, Pevet, Demartial, Converset, and Guttenoire de Toury. Morhardt is one of the editorial staff of the *Paris Temps* and a leading member of the French society for the study of the causes of the World War. The book is based upon a mastery of all the latest documents contained in the *Livre Noir*, and the Kautsky and Gooss collections, as well as numerous published memoirs. His conclusions are essentially those of the sane and scholarly revisionists generally, namely, that Poincaré encouraged and urged on Russia in taking an aggressive stand in the Balkans and in her policy towards the acquisition of the Straits; that this led Russia to stimulate Serbian nationalism in 1913-14 to an unprecedented degree; that the Serbian government was certainly not innocent in the premises; that the assassination of the Archduke was planned by the head of the intelligence division of the Serbian general staff; that Austria was not properly warned concerning the danger of the Archduke's trip to Sarajevo; that the Austrian attitude towards Serbia was the only possible one if she was to retain her territorial integrity; that this Austrian policy, however stubborn and determined, did not aim at a general European War, but only at the punishment of Serbia; that German encouragement of Austria in her Serbian policy did not envisage the strong probability of a World War ensuing, and was designed solely to promote Austrian protection; that most European countries agreed that Austria was warranted in severe terms in the Serbian crisis and did not give evidence of much solicitude until after Poincaré's visit to Russia; that it was Poincaré's visit which gave the aggressive but cowardly Russian militarists and imperialists their courage to intervene in the Serbian crisis and mobilize against Germany and Austria; that this mobilization was recognized by the Entente Powers to mean inevitable war; that Poincaré not only knew this but vigorously pushed the Russians along in their fatal course, ably aided and abetted by the detestable Izvolsky; and that

the Kaiser put very heavy pressure on Austria to restrain her, but in vain until the time when Russia precipitated the war by her mobilization.

Perhaps the most interesting and somewhat novel points emphasized by Morhardt are the backwardness of the Serbian political system and the grave doubt as to whether Serbia is any more entitled to the full operation of the rights of a sovereign state under international law than Santo Domingo or Nicaragua, for example; the inadequacy of the Serbian response to the Austrian ultimatum, the failure of the Entente to take advantage of the constructive Italian plan of July 28, 1914, which would have given adequate protection to Serbia and have allowed Austria to save her face before the European public; and the primary responsibility of Poincaré for the precipitation of the World War. Upon this last point the author's charge is explicit:

Not for a minute during the crisis which preceded the hostilities was the war really inevitable. Even to the climax, that is, to the hour when Russia mobilized, it was possible for those in charge of our destinies to have preserved peace for us. We have by innumerable documents which we have examined shown that it was neither by weakness or lack of foresight that the war was started under their auspices. Quite to the contrary, an inflexible will pushed the secret mechanism; the will of M. Poincaré and his will alone. Never, if he had not gone to preach the war crusade savagely in St. Petersburg, as M. Maurice Paléologue has told us, would the cowardly Nicholas II have dared to take the aggressive initiative. . . . Such was, in these tragic moments, the harsh and belligerent attitude of M. Raymond Poincaré. . . . It was he who conceived the gigantic plan. It was he who imposed it upon the "docile" soul of Nicholas II. He not only took the initiative, he brought the plan to realization. If we examine his rôle from the point of view of historic events rather than of morality and reason, he unquestionably takes first place among the men who have exercised a decisive influence upon the world. Take, for example, Napoleon I; the great Corsican adventurer did not succeed, after fifteen years of the most absolute power, in accomplishing results comparable at all to those which M. Raymond Poincaré can glory in having achieved. No other man in any previous age has upset the world with more cold-blooded enthusiasm.

Morhardt raises the question as to why Poincaré now desires to escape the charge of responsibility for the war. He holds that this is due primarily to the fact that the conflict lasted far longer than Poincaré had anticipated and cost France more in men and money than he had fore-



seen in 1914. Hence, he does not now dare to face the indignation of France or the world as the author of the calamity. Further, the Treaty of Versailles is based upon the assumption of the sole responsibility of Germany for the war. As an inflexible exponent of a literal fulfilment of the treaty, he cannot well admit that there was even divided responsibility. While the reviewer shares Morhardt's view that Poincaré is the supreme culprit of human history, yet he cannot hold with the author that the proof is documentarily conclusive, even if the circumstantial evidence is overwhelming. We shall not know the whole truth until the French archives are thrown open to scholars, and perhaps not then. But whatever our views about the responsibility of Poincaré, any forward-looking scholar will agree with Morhardt's conclusion:

Those in charge of our destinies in the future will achieve fruitful results only if they base their efforts on Truth. Hate is a form of ignorance. But it was hate which engendered the World War. It alone made the war possible, as it alone will render inevitable the approaching wars into which the policy of M. Raymond Poincaré would drag us with a blind ferocity. The absurd postulate by which he was inspired has been destroyed. It is not true that France and Germany are condemned to fight eternally. It is not true that the security of France can be assured only by the disappearance of her neighbor in the east. It is not true, further, that we can hold in bondage a nation of seventy millions. What is true is that France can live in peace, side by side, with Germany. It is only necessary to wish to do so.

Of an equally scholarly and candid nature, and somewhat more moderate and calm in tone is the admirable book of M. Alfred Fabre-Luce, whose earlier work, *La Crise des Alliances* was one of the best criticisms written of the Allied policy after Versailles and the growing coolness between England and France. Examining the documentary evidence as to the immediate responsibility for the World War he concludes that he cannot accept the view of such Germanic revisionists as Montgelas on at least three points. He rejects the thesis of the purely disinterested action of Austria in the Serbian affair, the claim that Germany can be morally excused for her action on the basis of her ignorance of the degree of military preparation by France and Russia, and the contention that Austria and Russia were reaching an amicable agreement when the Russian

general mobilization brought on the war. In these matters many scholars would agree with him. He also quite correctly concludes that one cannot discover all of the causes of the World War simply in a study of the documents of July, 1914. One must also remember the secret engagements of the various governments in this period. But beyond documents and secret arrangements in July, 1914, there is the much more important matter as to what made it possible for any group of powers to bring about a war in July, 1914, on so slight a pretext, in other words the general background of the war. On the basis of this assumption he studies, in what is one of the most judicious summaries ever written, the development of international policies and alliances from 1870 to 1914. In this he spares neither Triple Alliance nor Triple Entente, nor any particular state. Yet, he recognizes that, granting the dominance of the spirit of nationalism, imperialism, militarism and secret diplomacy, every country and the two great alliances behaved much as might have been expected in the circumstances. The system of international relations rather than the individual nation stands condemned. Returning from this general survey once more to the immediate responsibility for the war, he comes to the conclusion, which, for a combination of brevity and accuracy, is never likely to be surpassed: "*The acts of Germany and Austria made the war possible; those of the Triple Entente made it inevitable.*"

Passing from this profound and judicious first part of his book, which occupies two-thirds of the whole, Fabre-Luce discusses in the second part the failure of Europe and France to secure peace as a result of the Pact of Versailles. He analyzes the policies of the various groups in France as to reparations and security, and examines the Ruhr policy of Poincaré. He condemns the whole policy of force, and calls for a reconsideration of procedure in the light of the lessons to be learned from a study of the causes of the World War. It is a strong plea for international agreement and action, and a settlement of problems by mutual compromise, adjustment and understanding. A continuation of the Poincaré policy could only result in another war and the ultimate ruin of France. The very conception of a victory based upon force and injustice is the

most vicious working principle possible in the world today. The only worthy and adequate slogan to be followed in all international policies today is that "*The carnage of 1914-1918 shall never be repeated.*" Though history proves that the World War was not actually begun as a war against war, its results will be as nothing unless it turns out in fact to have been a war for such a purpose, whether or not the participants were at the time conscious of the fact.

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NON-VOTING: CAUSES AND METHODS OF CONTROL. By Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 250 pp. \$2.50.

This book summarizes the results of one of the few pieces of genuine political research ever undertaken in this country. For many years members of that group of scholars who choose to style themselves political scientists have been prating of research, but for them research has consisted in the main of fishing in a boundless sea of books and documents for citations and quotations to support preconceived theories. By their footnotes you shall know them.

As a reaction against this too scholastic method of research, there was launched some two decades ago the so-called governmental research movement, which has borne fruit in the foundation of a large number of self-styled institutes or bureaus of municipal or governmental research. These institutions have for the most part been supported by the generosity of gentlemen whose chief interest in government was the reduction of tax rates, and consequently their investigations have been confined very largely to the fields of finance and administration. Whether the investigations conducted by such agencies have ever deserved to be described as research, is a much-mooted question. The procedure of investigation certainly has not been strictly scientific, and in a great many cases it has amounted to nothing more than a hurried survey and superficial description of existing conditions, followed by a body of recommendations representing the special political hobbies, individual and collective, of the investigating staff. Investigation of this sort is no more research than is the daily routine of a physician in diagnosing the ailments of his patients and

prescribing remedies for their cure. It is simply the application of standardized knowledge to particular cases.

Professors Merriam and Gosnell, in seeking to ascertain the causes of non-voting in Chicago, have eschewed the library and the standard pharmacopoeia of governmental research, and have adopted the technique of laboratory science. A staff of trained investigators under their direction interviewed some 6,000 eligible non-voters, who failed to cast their ballots in the Chicago municipal election of 1923. "These non-voters were selected with a view of obtaining a representative sample of the 700,000 non-voters in this election. The following groups were included: sex, age, nationality, economic status, occupation, length of residence. The samples were taken from the groups scattered over the entire city, and as broadly distributed as possible."

The data thus obtained were checked against the judgments, opinions, and criticisms of more than 300 "experts" in politics, the "experts" being mainly office-holders, party officials, precinct committeemen, and other active political workers. In addition to this, every test of statistical science and social psychology was brought to bear upon the data in order to achieve a rational and scientific interpretation.

The conclusions of the study are too detailed and too extensively qualified to be presented in a brief review. Suffice it to say that the facts disclosed show that the diatribes against those fictitious characters, John and Jane Citizen, which are now emanating in great profusion from the pens of feature writers for newspapers and popular magazines, are none too well founded. While it appeared that "general indifference" was the most common cause of non-voting, that being the principal cause in 25.4% of the cases, it also appeared that the roots of this indifference reach far down into the sub-soil of our social, economic, and political system. In other words, it would not seem that John and Jane Citizen are necessarily intentional slackers in the performance of their civic duties, but rather that the conditions under which they live and the nature of our political processes are such as to induce apathy and indifference. Hysterical exhortations from press and platform will not change this situation. Those who sincerely desire a democracy that is



one hundred per cent alert and active must be prepared to accept some drastic departures from the present order of society.

In addition to general indifference, the most potent causes of non-voting were shown to be illness, absence from the city, legal obstacles, ignorance, and disbelief in woman's voting. Many surprising facts are revealed, some of which are so ominous as to constitute a challenge to all true believers in democracy.

In the opinion of the reviewer this is one of the most important books of the day, and one which should be read by all who wish to come to grips with certain of the fateful realities of American politics.

CHESTER C. MAXEY.

Western Reserve University.

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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. By Henry Jones Ford. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, vii, 318 pp. \$3.75.

The Anglo-Saxon myth, already effectively undermined by the writings of such specialists as Sir Paul Vinogradoff, F. Seebohm, and H. M. Chadwick, has received its final *coup de grace* at the hands of Professor Ford. The notion that representative government derives from Teutonic sources is now conclusively demolished. The long vogue it has enjoyed both in England and America, thanks to the support of Turner, Kemble and Freeman, is ended.

The Teutonic polity theory made its initial appearance as a development from the tendency to idealize primitive conditions, which was a feature of the ideas brought into vogue by Rousseau. As formulated by Professor Freeman, the theory maintained that the original source of all existing models of constitutional government is the community of freemen embraced in the Teutonic Mark,—lands which were held both in severalty and in common. Representative government was said to have originated in the delegation of the right of every freeman to attend the Mark assembly in person. To this Teutonic practice, according to the theory, can be traced the New England town meeting, the British Parliament, the American Congress, and, indeed, all modern legislative bodies.

In Part One of the work the author conducts a careful inquest into the works of seventeenth and eighteenth century historians in search of a tradition of popular liberty of Teutonic origin. But of representative government as a distinct form of polity he finds that Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon had no notion whatever. Neither Hobbes' *Leviathan* nor Locke's *Treatises on Government* show any knowledge of an Anglo-Saxon source of political rights. They regarded the representative element in the constitution of England simply as an incident of royal administration in that country.

In sifting the evidence upon which this myth has been built, Professor Ford finds it so vague and fluctuating as to have little scientific value. He shows that there is not the slightest evidence, either in historical record or in popular tradition, that the Mark ever existed in England, and that, as a community of freemen, the Mark did not even exist among the Teutonic tribes that invaded England. Servitude and not freedom was the condition of the masses in primitive Teutonic society. Representative government is clearly shown to have had its real genesis as an incident of monarchical rule in Norman England where monarchy was stronger than elsewhere. In its origin it received its mode and form from the church upon a pattern supplied by the Dominican order. Its conversion into an organ of control over royal authority is attributable to historical accidents and not at all to racial traits or to national characteristics.

In Part Two the author gives a keen analysis of the characteristics of the representative system as it operates in leading countries today, in which he uses the scheme and pursues the method employed by J. S. Mill in his *Considerations on Representative Government*. The need of development in the means of control is emphasized as an important concomitant of the tendency to expand the sphere of government and enlarge its authority, and the determination of the principles upon which effective control can be established is regarded as the most important task to which political science can address itself. Five fundamental conditions essential to the institution of a representative system are laid down. First, that the people shall be free to choose whom they will to represent them. Second, that the representative

assembly shall be face to face with the administration. Third, that the representatives shall be so circumstanced that they can use their authority only on public account. Fourth, that elections shall be confined to the choice of representatives. And fifth, that the supervision and control of the representative assembly shall extend over the whole field of government.

In his concluding observations Professor Ford expresses the opinion that the English representative system has stood the strain better than any other type of government. How to reconcile representative institutions with good government has become, as he sees it, the great political problem of our times. He prophesies not a rejection of representative government but a weeding out of its spurious elements as a likely development. And, in spite of the glaring evidences of inefficiency and corruption which evoke his bitter criticism, the author affirms with Mill his faith in the true representative government as the ideally best polity, for "there has been sufficient practical experience to show that when actually installed under conditions which maintain its representative character, it is the form of government which attains the highest degree of practical efficiency together with the greatest stability."

This latest book from the pen of Professor Ford is of value for its decisive disposal of the theory of a Teutonic origin of representative government; for its concise exposition of its real origin; and for its penetrating analysis of the essential characteristics of a representative system. Scrutiny of the American system in the light of these criteria reveals conspicuous defects to the reader and helps to explain why our government often fails to function properly and how it has been corrupted. Recent conflicts and deadlocks between the three branches of the federal government as well as the flagrant abuse of public trust are clearly due to the suppression in practice of the principle that the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the government. Not lawmaking but supervision is the first function of the legislature. But there is no way in which the assembly itself can function as an organ of public control over the government except through direct contact. The condition which has made of our houses of Congress mere agencies of class interests, intent upon their own

advantage regardless of the general welfare, is thus seen to be the absence of a direct connection with the administration. Separation between the executive and legislative departments of the national government is shown to be the root cause of the trend in the United States towards the "multiple agency system," which is a spurious development of the representative idea. In thus submitting the evidence of the extent to which the true form of representative government has been corrupted, Professor Ford has not only made a most significant contribution to an adequate understanding of the existing system, but he has also pointed out the path which constitutional changes must take if our representative system is to achieve its complete fulfillment.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY.

Washington University

Graduate School of Economics.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICIAN. By R. D. Bowden. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1924, 248 pp. \$2.00.

Certain books leave the reader with a feeling of wonder—wonder that they ever should have been written. This book almost falls into that class. It is not a weak book; nor is it wholly valueless; but it marks no new departure in political thought and adds little or nothing to what has already been brilliantly done in such books as Croly's *The Promise of American Life*, Smith's *The Spirit of American Government*, and Weyl's *The New Democracy*.

The author's avowed purpose is to portray the evolution of the professional politician in the United States. This is represented as a drama of five acts—The Rise and Domination of Federalism and Adoption of the American Constitution, The Growth and Triumph of Jeffersonian Philosophy, The Jacksonian Revolution, The Decline of Slavocracy and Rise of Republicanism, The Progressive Revolt of 1912 and Election of Wilson. The villain of the piece turns out to be Big Business. But the villainy of the villain is so feebly presented that he appears to be a sneak-thief and pickpocket rather than the bold, bad bank bandit of popular supposition.



The remedies suggested are the standard formulae of the professional political prescriptionist—proportional representation, the short ballot, the non-partisan primary, legislative reform, administrative reorganization, and political education.

The book may enrich the literature of the Chautauqua Circle, but it adds nothing to the resources of scholarship.

CHESTER C. MAXEY.

Western Reserve University.

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AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By Harold Underwood Faulkner. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924, xi, 720 pp. \$3.50.

Up to the last three years students and teachers of economic history have been limited to the antiquated and inadequate works of A. S. Bolles and Carroll D. Wright or the useful manuals of Miss Coman and Professor Bogart, the latter of which has been successively revised, and still holds its ground with the newcomers. Within the period since 1921 we have been favored with excellent college textbooks in this field by Isaac Lippincott, T. W. Vann Metre and the volume under review. All of the earlier volumes were the work of economists. Professor Faulkner's contribution possesses particular interest as the first book on the subject written by a professional historian.

The book is divided into three main sections: Colonial beginnings; from the Revolution to the Civil War; and from the Civil War to the present day. In each of these parts the author utilizes the respectable and well worn method of treating the history of agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, finance and transportation essentially independent of each other, a procedure which may be pedagogically necessary but which is historically artificial. In distributing the space he allots something more than a third of the volume to the period since the Civil War. Most progressive historians would criticize this, if at all, on the ground of inadequacy rather than excessive attention. The book is throughout strengthened by the author's superior command of the general literature and materials of modern history as a whole. This enables him to round out his pic-

ture better than the average economist, and to escape many omissions which would be likely with anyone but a trained historian. This appears particularly in his treatment of the European background of the Colonial Movement, the thorough grasp of Turner's conception of the importance of the expanding frontier in American history, the historical background of the Civil War, the rise of the new imperialism, and the social trends and problems of the contemporary period.

On the other hand, the historian could readily find considerable fault in matters of detail. The author could certainly have made more of the interaction of Europe and America in the Colonial age. He straddles almost humorously in treating the relation of the Turks and the occupation of the trade-routes to the discovery of oversea routes to America and India. After reciting the conventional tale as to the advance of the Turks and their almost complete obstruction of the European commerce with the Levant, he summarizes Professor Lybyer's refutation of this myth, and then leaves the reader to take his choice. In his selection of assigned readings on the economic causes of the Civil War one does not find the appropriate chapters of Simons' *Social Forces in American History*, which are much the best brief treatment of the subject. The chapter on manufacturing since 1860 comes toward the close of the book, whereas it should follow immediately after the Civil War and constitute the key to the whole subsequent economic and social history of contemporary America, as Professor Schlésinger has so clearly demonstrated. Finally, the last part of the book is distinctly more casual and perfunctory than the first three quarters of the volume, descending in many cases to something scarcely more than a digest and analysis of the census reports and the Statistical Abstract of the United States.

Upon the whole, however, the work has been competently done and interestingly written. It is obvious that the book will become at once a serious competitor with any other work of the sort on the market, and it possesses certain definite advantages over any previous textbook.

HARRY E. BARNES.

Smith College.

THE AMERICAN MIND IN ACTION. By Harvey O'Higgins and Edward H. Reede, M.D. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924, 336 pp. \$3.00.

*The American Mind in Action* represents an attempt to apply the principles of the New Psychology in an analysis of the physical forces operating in the lives of the American people, taking as specific studies Mark Twain, Lincoln, Emerson, Carnegie, Comstock and P. T. Barnum, Franklin, Longfellow, Whitman and Mark Hanna, Julia W. Howe, Dr. Anna H. Shaw and Margaret Fuller. An excellent chapter devoted to a general exposition of the American mind opens the book, while a brief but suggestive chapter on the possibilities of improving the prosperity type of American, the dominant type in our country in the author's view, brings the study to a close.

The predominant trait of the American mind is a vigorous Puritanism in ways of thought, modes and morals. The Puritan consciously tried "to exterminate his natural instincts, not to domesticate them." He went even farther—he would not allow thoughts of sin to enter his consciousness. But this was practically impossible. "The conscious mind can easily control instinctive action; it cannot wholly control instinctive thought. It can control the action the more easily if it allows the thought into the conscious mind, where it appears to drain off the energy somewhat and relieve the tension. The Puritan could not permit himself the safety valve of this drainage. When his instinctive thoughts came into consciousness, they filled him with a fear of eternal punishment, a ceaseless anxiety from which he rarely obtained any secure escape. This is the key to the Puritan's character and to the code of social conduct which he set."

Fortunately, however, for the Puritans of New England, the necessity of conquering a virgin wilderness provided an outlet in physical labor for this suppressed energy. The Puritans early came to realize that only by dint of unremitting toil could they hope to survive on the stern shores of New England. As success in time attended their labors, they pointed to divine intervention as the reason for their prosperity. Thus prosperity came to be regarded as a sign of God's favor, and industry and thrift became the cardinal virtues in Puritan society. Conversely,

failure was looked upon as proof of divine displeasure, and idleness bore the mark of sin.

The Puritan's "psychic anxiety," his "soul-fear," was the motivating force in the lives of both Twain and Lincoln, but unlike the typical American, they did not seek in industry an escape from insecurity. The leading American humorist resorted to humor as compensatory relief from his sub-conscious sense of guilt, inbred in him by the teachings of his mother, an "orthodox believer in a stern Calvinistic God." In his old age, his sense of unworthiness expressed itself in a stark pessimism as revealed in his famous essay "What is Man?" He transferred his own self-condemnation into a condemnation of human kind.

Lincoln's soul-fear evinced its powerful presence in the desire of Lincoln, particularly noticeable after he became president, to serve as a martyr for the cause of the Union. This "death-wish" to which Lincoln often gave voice, was undoubtedly the reason why the great president had premonitions of his violent end long before it came.

In the same way the sage of Concord is exposed as a sufferer with psychic anxiety. Emerson's loud and insistent call to his countrymen to be self-reliant was merely the compensatory expression of his own inner feeling of inferiority and his fear of reality.

In contrast to the three above mentioned types of Americans, Mr. O'Higgins places Carnegie, Franklin and Longfellow, who were in their own ways, typical Americans. Although the latter two were also of Puritan extraction (Carnegie was a Scotch Calvinist), each succeeded in doing what the others failed to do; namely, "to maximize his ego": Carnegie through his devotion to industry; Franklin through the application of a code of pragmatic philosophy to his daily living; and Longfellow through the dispersion of a practical idealism in his poetry. Thus they severally escaped the "melancholy" of Lincoln; the "despair" of Mark Twain; the "introversion" of Emerson.

The remaining four men, Whitman, Hanna, Comstock and P. T. Barnum, are rather superficially treated in the present study; but, on the other hand, the analyses of the three women stand out as notably as do those of Clemens, Lin-



coln and Emerson. Mrs. Howe was an early champion of woman's rights. She represents that type of American married woman, now appearing in increasing numbers, who, unable to maximate her ego by submerging herself in the home, revolts. Dr. Shaw was another champion of woman's rights, but she arrived at her ends by an entirely different experience. Instead of marrying and becoming a "home and mother type," which, in the author's mind, has been the stabilizer of American society, Dr. Shaw repressed her sex-instinct and successfully identified her resentment against her own repression as sympathy with the injustices done to her sex by man. For that reason "Dr. Shaw functioned admirably as a woman's champion." She was, in short, a successful man-hater.

In Margaret Fuller we have a conspicuous example of the "American intellectual of the blue-stocking variety." However, she was more than that. Hers is a "specimen of the artistic temperament trying to express itself rebelliously in the life and environment of an American woman." Had her asethetic nature been allowed free expression, she might have become a second George Eliot, but her Puritan education prevented it.

ARTHUR J. NELSON.

Clark University.

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THE JEWS IN THE MAKING OF AMERICA. By George Cohen. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1924, 274 pp. \$2.00.

PATRIOTISM OF THE AMERICAN JEW. By Hon. Samuel W. McCall. New York: Plymouth Press, 1924, 288 pp. \$2.50.

Indirectly Henry Ford is responsible for a number of books written by both Jew and Gentile, in favor of the Jewish people. The above books represent contributions to the growing body of literature stimulated by his propaganda.

Following an introduction by Edward F. McSweeney, consisting of an excellent summary of the history of immigration to this country and its regulation, Cohen's book begins with a chapter showing that Jewish financial aid assisted in the discovery of America and that Jews were members of the first expedition. There is a sketch of Jewish influence on early American

culture and it is demonstrated that the Puritans were largely dominated by the Hebrew tradition in the Old Testament. As to the exact significance of this fact, of course opinions might differ. It is claimed that the Jews even in the early days were a vital element in the commercial life of the country which provided a link with other countries, especially the West Indies. A large amount of space is devoted to demonstrating that in all the wars of the United States the Jews contributed, not only in money, but in military service of the highest quality, names and deeds being listed in abundance by way of proof. A discussion of the Jews in the economic life of recent times consists of an enumeration of achievements but there is a tendency to disclaim any extreme or monopolistic power. In contrast to the opinion of Hendrick, the Jew is given credit for improvement rather than creation of evil conditions in the sweated clothing trades. It is claimed that the proportion of Jews in academic spheres is markedly larger than the proportion in the population at large and that in the American traits of individualism, initiative and ambition the Jew is an example to other immigrant groups.

There are rather comprehensive sections treating of the Jew in the dramatic and artistic world, and in the field of science names are mentioned ranging from Michelson, Loeb and Flexner down to Albert Abrams. The material dealing with the participation of the Jew in liberal and progressive movements is interesting but it is perhaps reasoning from the particular to the general to claim that tradition sets lightly upon the Jew.

By way of explanation of the psychology of the Jew the catagories of introverts and extroverts are brought into play and it is argued that under persecution the Jews show two different types of reaction. The one is an escape of the introverts from reality by imagination and contemplation. The second reaction is an intensely assertive activity on the part of the extroverts which gains them a place even under the most unfavorable conditions. In general the Jew has shown a supreme power of adaptation even under the most varied conditions. Urban life, natural selection and sexual selection of intellectuals, due to the prestige of learning, are causes advanced to explain the intellectual attainments of the Jew. In conclusion it is claimed that the virtues of the

Jew, that have given him prestige, also bring him unpopularity; and from human dislike for the unlike and the established facts as to the low rate of intermarriage it is deduced that, while cultural assimilation is progressing, physical amalgamation does not seem likely in the near future.

McCall's book is more historical, less interpretative, and is more directly intended to combat prejudice by an appeal to the popular mind. Patriotism, however, is used in a broad sense and the two books cover very much the same field. A vigorous plea is made for coöperation and mutual understanding and it is pointed out that while danger of race friction is very great, in the nature of things, it becomes a special menace when anti-Semitic propaganda is spread abroad based on political forgeries such as the Protocols. In a brief history of Jewish persecution in the Old World it is related that at the very time the Jews were being driven out of Spain one of their number was giving financial aid to Columbus. The miseries of the Jew in Spain, France and Germany are described and the slow change is traced, which beginning at the time of Moses Mendelssohn, brought greater toleration to the Jewish people. On this background of suffering in Europe McCall sketches the contrasting toleration and appreciation that the Jew received in the early days of this country, once a foothold had been gained. It is claimed that during the Revolution but few of the Jews were Tories, most of them being ardent supporters of the American cause. The great financial services rendered by such men as Haym Salomon are described in glowing terms. Stress is laid on the significance of American leadership in the establishment of religious toleration.

Advancing to more recent times McCall presents evidence from the Civil War to refute the allegation that the Jews know loyalty only to race and shows that Jews served with great distinction on both sides during the struggle. The World War is treated at length from the point of view of Jewish achievement and both individual instances and statistics are cited to show that the Jew bore his full share of the burdens of that conflict. It is pointed out that intolerance is the basis of falsehood and that the entire race is often condemned for the sins of individuals. In particular, it is argued that the Jews as a whole

are not revolutionary and, while they supported Kerensky in a justifiable movement against corruption and oppression, few of the Bolshevik leaders are Jews. The rise of the Jew to eminence in world finance is traced but it is claimed that their power has declined with the development of stock banks and direct governmental loans and that at the present time the really great fortunes are not in the hands of Jews. In the affairs of Wall Street the Jews have a reputation for honesty and are rarely evolved in financial scandals. In philanthropy and welfare work, not only for the benefit of Jews but for those of other races, the generosity of Jews has been almost unbounded. In general, while recognizing the changes in the character of immigration to this country, McCall takes the attitude that restriction, save as applied to defectives, should be very cautiously undertaken. The national duty is proclaimed to be that of tolerance and mutual good will and an Americanism of a different kind from the bigotry that sometimes parades under that name.

Of the two books that of Cohen is somewhat the more comprehensive, rather more analytical, and less directly aimed at the moulding of public opinion than that of McCall. Both have brought together the results of Jewish historical investigation and have shown that Jewish contributions to American life date back much further than is generally known. Such a vigorous statement from a man of the standing of Gov. McCall should go far to counteract some of the insidious influences that have been brought to bear on American public opinion.

It should be pointed out that neither of the books is a serious sociological treatise and hence they will have a wide circulation. Neither the method nor the intent is calculated to give a complete picture of the influence of the Jew on America. The student will be repelled by lack of exact references and will perhaps feel that a citation of individual instances does not give complete insight into comparative racial achievement. A statistician would be prone to inquire as to the nature of the statistical unit, that is to say, the definition of a Jew. He would also tend to demand more data as to the influence of urbanization, occupation, sex and age in connection with statistics of military service. Nevertheless,



both of the books will fulfill a mission and many readers will have the authors to thank for a saner point of view.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK.

University of Pennsylvania.

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THE GERMANS IN THE MAKING OF AMERICA. By F. F. Schrader. Knights of Columbus Racial Contribution Series. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1924, 274 pp. \$2.00.

In these days of 100 percentism when a large proportion of the American public has not recovered from the prejudices aroused by the war, it is a timely book that reminds us of the great role played by the Germans in all the great features of American history. They were present in the earliest settlements including those of Leif Erickson, Jamestown, New York and Massachusetts Bay. A German, General Steuben, was the drillmaster of the Revolutionary Army, while the Pennsylvania Germans constituted one of the staunchest elements throughout that long struggle. Between then and the Civil War the Germans constituted a large and valuable contingent in the settlement of the West. The author is able by apparently authentic figures to show that it was the German vote that elected Lincoln in 1860, and he raises a presumption that it was the strength of over 200,000 German-born soldiers and nearly 300,000 of their sons which finally carried the Union armies to victory in 1865. Nor have contributions in literature, art, science, education, social reform and business been less notable. Some of these Germans were blond and some were brunette, some of the blonds had round heads and so did some of the brunettes, and some of each were long-headed. Taken as a group they loved their native land romantically but died by the thousand to preserve the unity of their adopted country. They were fond of beer but withal so sober and industrious that they became a synonym for honesty, steadiness and reliability.

But this account falls short of its possibilities and errs in places on the side of exaggeration. No account of the Germans in the recent war is given, though that might be excused on the

assumption that America was made before 1914. There is only one chapter on the German contributions to American culture. It is not true that the census of 1910 estimated that 26.8 per cent of the total white population were Germans. (p. 184-5.) Sources for significant facts and statements are often wanting. But withal, like the companion volume, *The Jews in the Making of America*, it represents a worthy addition to the literature to remind America of its origins and history.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

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THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH CANADA. By Jean Charlemagne Bracq. New York: Macmillan Company, 1924, ix, 467 pp. \$2.50.

"If the essence of national life means movement, growth, natural expansion, increasing wealth, great endeavors for education, culture, art, philosophy, the broadening of man as a social unit, the greater adaptive flexibility of the social instinct, the strenuous steadying power of religious beliefs, the gradual cumulative progress of the people, then the evolution of French Canada must be pronounced remarkable."

With these eloquent words Jean Charlemagne Bracq, LL.D., concludes his estimate of the historical and social development of French Canada. And the body of the work is in keeping with the conclusion, both in style and substance. It calls to mind the spacious days of Bancroft and the Great American Epic, and that despite the fact that on his very first page the author takes occasion to pay his respects to Comte Gobineau and the Gobinesque school of historians.

The author tells us that he has "wished to set forth how 65,000 French colonists . . . have become a people of over 3,000,000." . . . To anyone familiar with French-Canadian birth statistics over the last 150 years there is little mystery in that performance. He has also wished to describe "a civilization of singular interest . . . in the optimistic spirit with which Anglo-Canadians speak of themselves." The French-Canadian civilization is in some respects the most interesting on the continent, but it is interesting as a survival, and as such should

be examined neither by optimist or pessimist but by social scientists with some training in the interpretation of statistics and some ability in weighing evidence. Dr. Bracq's training has apparently been along other lines.

About half of the book is devoted to an outline of the history of French Canada with especial emphasis on the theocratic foundations of the colony and the gradual evolution of self-government after the British Conquest. Little use is made of Parkman's contribution to the earlier topic, nor is the scholarly work of Professor Eastman, "The Church and State in French-Canada" referred to, even in the bibliography, which is otherwise quite complete. On the whole French-Canadian sources are relied upon throughout, and where British sources are used it seems to be with the intention of placing the Anglo-Canadians in an unpleasant light. Even the justly famous Durham Report, (concerning which Professor Ramsay Muir says: "If ever a piece of writing has the quality of statesmanship, the *Report on Canada* deserves this description."<sup>1</sup>) comes in for three or four pages of criticism as the work of a "rhetorical politician" whose "vaticinations excite our pity as they were almost all unrealized."

The rest of the book is devoted to illustrations of "movement, growth," etc., in industry and commerce, education and religion, art, poetry and philanthropy. Apparently the writer has taken the year books published by the various French-Canadian organizations at their face value and we have a rather complete compilation with interpretations and rhetorical interpolations in the book under review. As instance the following:

"The French-Canadian, even the unlettered, learns more from conversation and his social life than his British fellow-subject of the same grade."

as a partial excuse for relatively inferior educational facilities. Or, speaking of the Montreal School of Dental Surgery and its students:

"Nothing inspires more hope for the future than the bright young men coming into this field."

And

"The School of Pharmacy is also doing fine work. It has trained druggists of repute."

<sup>1</sup> Muir, Ramsay, *The History of the British Commonwealth*. World Book Company, Volume II, pp. 435.

The writer tells us that he has only recently discovered the real worth of the French-Canadian and that he thinks this should be better known. He is a Frenchman from France and a Protestant. Apparently the sound of the mother tongue on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the simple friendliness of the habitants proved too much for his scientific judgment. The book really adds little to our knowledge of the evolution—or lack of evolution—of this most interesting people. A comparison with a similar study by another Frenchman from France, Professor Siegfried of L'Ecole Polytechnique—*Le Canada; les deux races*, shows what can be done. Although the latter book was published in 1907 it still is the leading authority on French-Canadian social and political problems, if keenness of insight and fairness of judgment be taken as the criterion. Dr. Bracq's most important contribution is his bibliography and his proof that a knowledge of the existence of the Gobinesque error in historical writing does not always save one from betraying similar weakness.

ROBERT C. DEXTER.

Skidmore College.

\* \* \*

NEW GOVERNMENTS OF CENTRAL EUROPE. By Malbone W. Graham, Jr. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, x, 683 pp. 8 vo. \$5.00.

Americans, as a group, have long been notorious for their profound ignorance of the world beyond their native shores. Whether they be Klansmen or not, most of them have something distinctly clannish about them and the slogan "America is good enough for me" accurately describes their attitude on things foreign. Even the thousands that crowd our palatial transatlantic liners every spring go abroad to visit England or France, to partake of the merriment of Channel watering places or to get rid of superfluous funds at Monte Carlo. Some elderly ladies go to Italy habitually, probably because the Victorians made much of it. But in almost every case they live in exclusive hotels or frequent American colonies, returning from their stay "abroad" with little real understanding of the problems confronting the countries they have visited. Few of them ever even attempt to grasp



the intricacies of French politics, while of Central European problems they knew nothing before the war, and know less than nothing now.

If this were not so it would have been impossible for interested persons to "put across" some of the ludicrously absurd war propaganda, and there would be, at the present day, no necessity for countless campaigns and innumerable new periodicals aiming to acquaint the "man in the street" with conditions in Europe.

Mr. Graham's book on the *New Governments of Central Europe* is not an inspiring work, but for those who are really eager to get reliable information it should prove to be a manual well worth owning. It deals with the new constitutions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and is a thorough piece of work, which fills a serious gap in our literature of European politics. Of course, it is primarily a treatise on governments, as the title indicates, but the author's approach is historical. He gives the reader ample information about conditions before and during the war to enable him to grasp the thread of development since the epochal overturns of October and November, 1918. The chapters treating of the new constitutions, notably the highly interesting Weimar Constitution, are without doubt superior to anything of equal scope now available in English. But even more important and more to be recommended to the general reader, are the parts of the book dealing with social and economic problems as they affect the new governments. The question of socialization in Germany and the experiment of the National Economic Council are very well done and Mr. Graham is to be particularly commended for his lucid account of the Soviet Constitution of Hungary under Bela Kun, the significance of which has been too generally overlooked. Nor can one withhold praise for the chapters dealing with contemporary politics in the various countries. The reader who lays down his newspaper in despair at ever following the intricacies of contemporary German party life, who is hopelessly confused in his understanding of the national problems in Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia, who fails to grasp the purposes of Horthy in Hungary, or who desires greater knowledge on the prospects of Austria's existence, will find very helpful outlines, not only of these, but of a

host of other questions. Unfortunately the author does not go beyond the year 1922, and one regrets finding nothing of the tremendous changes that have come over Europe since the invasion of the Ruhr and the acceptance of the Dawes report. Obviously the book was seriously delayed in the course of publication.

But after all, it is distinctly a good piece of work, the need for which has been keen. Students will find the rather complicated tables, and especially the 150 important documents printed in the appendices very valuable, and the general interested reader will not waste a minute of the time he spends in perusing the book.

WILLIAM L. LANGEK.

Clark University.

\* \* \*

RUSSIAN DEBTS AND RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION. By L. Pasvolsky and H. G. Moulton. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1924, ix, 247 pp. \$2.50.

This is another of the Publications of the Institute of Economics whose high standard it maintains. The thorough analysis and convincing conclusions reached by Professor Moulton with the assistance of Mr. McGuire in *Germany's Capacity to Pay* breeds confidence in this analysis of Russia's capacity to meet her obligations "if" and "when" she returns to the normal development of capitalist economic methods. There is such a thing as becoming expert in diagnosing the financial ills of bankrupt countries and giving a prognosis of probable future trends. Basing their analysis on the well-established principles of international trade, the authors find that on a pre-war industrial basis Russia would be just about able to pay the interest on the reconstruction loans that must be loaned her if she is to get back to financial stability. The existing foreign obligations, state, municipal and industrial, amount to nearly seven billion dollars, about equally divided into war and pre-war loans. If with her industries on a pre-war basis Russia could only meet the interest on new loans that must be made for reconstruction purposes what can be done with these vast debts and their annual interest of 720 million rubles?

The world may (1) abandon Russia to her fate, (2) exploit her resources through conces-

sions, or (3) seek a genuine settlement of the whole Russian debt problem. The first means the loss to the world of Russia's vast resources. The second plays into the hands of shrewd and often cruelly cunning concessionaires who plunder and produce war with reckless indifference. But the third requires in Russia a government which will admit the rightfulness of international obligations. The Russian debt is an integral part of Europe's financial and industrial problem and should be attacked in the broadest spirit of constructive internationalism.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

\* \* \*

THE FRUIT OF THE FAMILY TREE. By Albert Edward Wiggam. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1924, 391 pp., illus. \$3.00.

THE INHERITANCE OF ACQUIRED CHARACTERISTICS. By Paul Kammerer, translated by Paul Maerker-Branden. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924, 414 pp., illus. \$5.00.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HEREDITY. By E. W. MacBride. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Home University Library, No. 107), 1924, 256 pp., illus. \$1.00.

Wiggam's second book on human heredity is a great improvement over his first—*The New Decalogue of Science*; the author has cast off the incubi under which his merits formerly struggled for expression. Gone are the somewhat crude dogmatism, the messianic symbolism, the sacerdotal verbiage, the Procrustean formulation which characterized his earlier volume. This new book is, I venture to assert, a model of popularization. Not that the casual and uninstructed reader can idly drift through it and emerge in full possession of the facts of genetics; there is in it material for hard study, an array of accurate and carefully correlated information entertainingly presented, which in itself will afford the intelligent layman a sound basis for opinion in the matters concerned and will conduct the assiduous student (through an abundance of relevant bibliography) to the original sources and the best texts in the field of biological inheritance. The facts of Mendelism are clearly given; the existent studies in human heredity, mental and physical, are ably summarized; the problems of birth control and environ-

mentalism are discreetly touched upon; and the Nordic myth gets its exact due. And eugenics is shown to be a matter primarily for the informed individual to deal with—not something to be applied to mankind in the mass by a committee of politicians or even of experts. The book is marked by common sense, knowledge, and a highly readable literary style—may it sell like Papini!

Kammerer's extensive work is a valuable compendium of what has been done in the way of experimentation on the vexed topic that provides the title. Here its value stops, for critical reading of the interpretations offered for the experiments at once exposes fallacies of divers sorts and makes manifest the statistical inadequacy of the data presented. There are opportunities for error in case after case, which the author denies or ignores—e.g., in the transplantation of the often lobulated gonads of salamanders, where fragments of the original tissue might well have been overlooked; there are no definite

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measurements presented in most instances—e.g., how long *are* the watertubes of Ciona on the average, in the parents, in the  $F_1$ , the  $F_2$ ? The “nuptial pad” of the mid-wife toad, said to be acquired as the result of changed breeding conditions, is pronounced by American experts to be spurious—a mere thickening such as may occur on various parts of the body—much as Bateson in England maintained; the genetic constitution of genetic material seems never to be known definitely—pure lines are conspicuously absent from the records, etc., etc. The conclusions which the author reaches are the familiar beliefs of the environmentalist uplift . . . “a message of salvation . . . which,” like “the old Oriental teachings of Karma and the ethics of Carlyle,” believes “that no deed can ever be undone” . . . “A faculty which we acquire,” “. . . disease and worries which we withstand and conquer,” leave traces “upon our children and our children’s children” . . . some faint reflection “must surely be handed down . . . [otherwise] living nature would be void of mor-

als.” This book fails in its purpose of supplying a basis of scientific truth for these beliefs.

McBride’s book, intended for home study by the laity, is the work of perhaps the most eminent zoologist ever heard of who at once (1) opposes the factorial theory of chromosomal heredity; (2) fails to comprehend that *any* change (mutation) in a highly perfected mechanism (e.g. *Drosophila*) is more than likely to be for the worse, that is “pathological,” whatever may have been the case in more primitive forms; (3) accepts the Lamarckian interpretation of Kammerer’s experiments; (4) believes that Pavlov’s mice in the first generation required 300 lessons on the meaning of the dinner-bell, but only 5 in the third generation; (5) advocates Tornier’s theory that the familiar varieties of goldfish arose because of the dirty dishes in which they were kept by the Chinese; and (6) in spite of all this sternly professes the Nordic credo. In the space not occupied by argumentation over these high matters some information on heredity is given.

H. M. PARSHLEY.

## CLASSIFIED BOOK-NOTES

### METHODOLOGICAL

**MENTAL GROWTH CURVE OF NORMAL AND SUPERIOR TELLIGENCE EXAMINATIONS.** By Bird T. Baldwin and Lorle I. Stecher. University of Iowa Studies in Child Children Studies By Means of Consecutive In-Welfare, 1922, 61 pp. \$0.75.

Along with certain criticisms of existing tests this study concludes that the I. Q. is sufficiently constant to make possible a close prediction from an early test the attainment of an individual in a later one; that there is a close interrelation between mental and physical development as shown by the similarity between growth in height and in mental age, the rise in the mental age curve at adolescence, the superior mental development of physiologically accelerated children, and the high correlation between mental age and height.

F. H. H.

### BIOLOGICAL

**IMMUNITY IN NATURAL INFECTIOUS DISEASES.** By F. d’Herelle and George H. Smith. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1924, 400 pp. \$5.

An important work by a member of the Pasteur Institute in Paris in collaboration with Professor Smith of Yale.

H. E. B.

**REJUVENATION: HOW STEINACH MAKES PEOPLE YOUNG.** By George F. Corners. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923, 112 pp., illus. \$2.

**REJUVENATION AND THE PROLONGATION OF HUMAN EFFICIENCY.** By Paul Kammerer. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1923, 252 pp., illus. \$2.

How to make aged porters young and goatish and how to convert respectable dowagers into flappers. Oddly enough we find recommended as means to these great ends about the same technique that the eugenists advocate for sterilizing the antisocial and the unfit. What’s wrong here?

H. M. PARSHLEY.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL

**PSYCHOLOGY IN THEORY AND APPLICATION.** By Horatio W. Dresser. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1924, xviii, 727 pp. \$3.50.

This work is an effort to coördinate and synthesize the various aspects of psychology both theoretical and applied. It seeks to avoid the partisanship of any particular viewpoint, whether behaviorist, introspectionist, or Freudian. It covers both individual and social psychology and thus becomes encyclopædic. The parts in order are: General Psychology; Psychology of the Hidden Self;

Vocational and Industrial Psychology; Social Psychology; Social Organization. In a book of such range divided into forty-three chapters, each treating a topic which has been studied in many whole volumes, little claim to originality can be set up, and the author makes no pretensions in this regard. As a work of general reference this volume should find a certain usefulness because of its summaries of existing fact and opinion.

F. H. H.

**SPECIAL TALENTS AND DEFECTS. THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR EDUCATION.** By Leta S. Hollingworth. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923, xix, 216 pp. \$1.60.

This book should interest sociologists and workers interested in the subject of individual differences, the causes and role of special abilities or deficiencies, and the individualization of education. The general viewpoint is that there is such a thing as general intelligence or general ability, which is organic in basis and distributed through a population in the same evenly graded, symmetrical manner as stature; and that this is the basis for the rather considerable correlation between the abilities or capacities of any individual in various directions. But there are in addition special abilities or deficiencies, also resting on an inheritable basis, which make an individual in particular activities superior or inferior to his general level. "Education cannot bestow special gifts; it can only utilize such as are innately present within the organism. Talent and genius can be created in children only by the procreation of parents, who are the biological carriers of extraordinary endowment." (P. 44). There are chapters on Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, Drawing, Music and Miscellaneous Abilities, with a concluding chapter on Individuality and Education.

F. H. H.

#### ANTHROPOLOGICAL

**FOLK SONGS OF MANY PEOPLES.** Compiled and edited by Florence H. Botsford. New York: The Woman's Press. 1922, 464 pp. \$3.50 (paper), \$4.00 (cloth).

**HANDBOOK ON RACIAL AND NATIONALITY BACKGROUNDS.** Section I. PEOPLES OF THE NEAR EAST. II. SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEANS. III. SLAVIC PEOPLES. IV. THE FAR EAST. (1923). V. SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES: FRENCH-CANADIANS. VI. PEOPLES OF THE SCANDINAVIAN AND BALTIC STATES. Prepared by Minnie M. Newman. New York: The Woman's Press, 1922, 23 pp. \$.50 per section.

The first of these is the second volume of a collection of folk songs from all over the world translated into English and here published with their native tunes. Aside from their primary usefulness in community social work, they constitute valuable source material for study of folk psychology. The *Handbook* includes a series of references all on the same basic outline for the study of

various nationality groups. Should be helpful in courses on Immigration, Races, Nationalities and similar topics.

F. H. H.

#### HISTORICAL

**PRINCIPLES OF A NOTE-SYSTEM FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES.** By Earle W. Dow. New York: The Century Co., 1924, vi, 124, with lengthy unpagged appendix. \$1.50.

In this volume Professor Dow brings together the fruits of the experience of a generation of American social scientists in assembling materials. The principles of the loose-leaf system are explained, classification schemes are discussed, and a voluminous appendix contains 77 illustrative examples which should be of no small value to the novice at research. Not the least important is Professor Dow's warning against that bondage to notes and note-systems which has kept so many dissertations from being infused with intelligence.

L. H. JENKS.

**SOUTH WALES AND THE MARCH, 1284-1415.** By W. Rees. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, xv, 303 pp. \$5.

A thorough monograph on medieval economic and social history. An excellent example of intensive study of a local area.

H. E. B.

### PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP

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A HISTORY OF THE TORY PARTY, 1640-1714. By Keith Feiling. New York, Oxford University Press, 1924, 525 pp. \$6.

A detailed study in the early history of political parties. Valuable alike to students of English history and political science.

H. E. B.

A HISTORY OF FRANCE, 1493-1498. By J. S. C. Bridge. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, xvi, 356 pp. \$5.35.

An intensive study of political and diplomatic developments. A classic example of episodic historiography. The most valuable section is the few pages at the outset upon the economic and social foundation of the power of the Italian cities.

H. E. B.

#### SOCIOLOGICAL

SEX AND LIFE. By Dr. Robie. Ithaca, N. Y.: Rational Life Publishing Company, 1924, 424 pp. \$5.00.

THE SEXUAL LIFE. By C. W. Malchow. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1923. 317 pp. \$3.50.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that these two books are available for the great mass of uninformed and ignorant married and about-to-be or hope-to-be-soon married persons in this country. In general viewpoints these works differ little, but in style, readability and general literary and æsthetic appeal the Robie book is

incomparably superior. It is also more comprehensive in that it sets forth in different parts and systematically rational sex ethics for parents, young men, young women and married couples. It is also more revealing through its inclusion of numerous case histories. There are few people who can read either of these books without learning a number of things that should add materially to their health and happiness.

F. H. H.

#### ECONOMIC

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE TO THE YEAR 1829. By W. E. Rich. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924, vii, 190 pp. \$2.

An excellent study in economic and administrative history. Significant also as a study of early political methods.

H. E. B.

#### JURISTIC

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SOME CURRENT ILLUSTRATIONS, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By John Bassett Moore. New York: MacMillan, 1924, xviii, 381pp. \$2.50.

A collection of stimulating and suggestive papers by the foremost modern authority on international law. Discusses particularly the new issues in international law produced by the World War and novel methods of warfare. Has an excellent section on the Permanent Court of International Justice.

H. E. B.

A HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Randolph G. Adams. New York: MacMillan, 1924, xv, 490 pp. \$3.50.

A somewhat conventional, but thorough history, interpreted in purely political and diplomatic terms. Ignores to a large degree the vital economic impulses and guiding factors.

H. E. B.

A WORKING MANUAL OF ORIGINAL SOURCES IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Milton Conover. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1924, viii, 135 pp.

A combination of a bibliographic guide with a manual of exercises designed to introduce students to the literature and technique of research in public documents. A helpful and much needed work.

H. E. B.

#### RELIGIOUS

THE AUTHENTIC LITERATURE OF ISRAEL, FREED FROM THE DISARRANGEMENTS, EXPANSIONS AND COMMENTS OF EARLY NATIVE EDITORS. By Elizabeth Czarnomska. New York: MacMillan, xxxv, 422 pp. \$4.

An effort to reconstruct in accurate fashion the actual and original Hebrew literature from the Exodus to the Exile.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

WIRELESS POSSIBILITIES. By A. M. Low. New York: E. P. Dutton Company, 1924, 77 pp. \$1.

Another volume in Dutton's "To-day and To-morrow" series, and not less interesting or suggestive than Haldane's *Daedalus* or Russell's *Icarus*. Along with a few glimpses of the scientific technique, it includes an absorbing vision of that new and strange world which is being created by the marvels of science. We see ourselves in that world in instant contact with the ends of the earth not merely through the ear but through the eye. We may from our own supper table chat with friends traveling across the Atlantic by aeroplane, or listen in on speeches, operas, concerts or conventions at earth's end, and see while we listen. In the future we shall have autos, air-planes, torpedoes, submarines and tanks controlled from a distance by wireless; clocks will be set by wireless; vast armies can be kept in instantaneous communication over any distance; but in that world there will with difficulty be any secrets, the burglar will locate the silver by wireless and documents of state will shout their messages to an expectant world. The study of oscillations in nature in all their forms is in its infancy, but may some day culminate in a knowledge of how the oscillations developed in the processes of energy-conversion which we call thought may be detected at a distance. Then indeed man will of necessity be holy in thought as well as deed!

F. H. H.

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## NORTH CAROLINA—PUBLISHER AND READER?

L. R. WILSON

IS NORTH CAROLINA—Publisher and Reader to be added to the rising tides of titles recently applied to the Tar Heel State and now heralded to the world by French Strother and Irvin Cobb? Is it to take its place side by side with North Carolina—Road Builder, North Carolina—Cotton Manufacturer, North Carolina—Cigarette Maker, North Carolina—Federal Income Tax Payer, North Carolina—Educator, North Carolina—Farmer? Can the permanency of these latter be assured unless the title question is answered emphatically, and in the affirmative?

The basis upon which this question rests is not hard to see. It is to be discovered in certain events which transpired during 1924, unimpressive when considered singly, but notable when viewed collectively.

Twice within the past two months, H. L. Mencken, editor of *The American Mercury* and contributor to the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, has proclaimed *The Journal of Social Forces*, a University of North Carolina Press publication now beginning its third volume, the most significant periodical the South has ever seen. Early in 1924 the Trinity College Press brought out a volume, "An Anthology of Verse by American Negroes," which was widely commended by reviewers throughout the country, and from the same Press *The South Atlantic Quarterly* added a new volume to the distinguished series of twenty-two volumes which have appeared heretofore. From the North Carolina Historical Commission has come volume one of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, and during the most recent tour of the Carolina Playmakers a second series of "Folk Plays" written by the Playmakers has come from the press of Henry Holt and Company. Some time during the summer an attractively printed volume of prize short stories and poems came from the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, the Wachovia Historical Society issued an important historical publication, and throughout the year generally articles and an occasional book by North Carolina authors

appeared in the national magazines and in the lists of national book publishers. Finally, at the meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 4 and 5, the University of North Carolina Press exhibited twelve books, five learned journals, and four service periodicals published by it during the year, and on December 7 the State press carried the information that *The Reviewer*, a distinctive literary journal published for the past three years in Richmond, has been acquired by a group of North Carolina writers and hereafter would be issued from editorial and business offices located at Chapel Hill and Hickory, respectively.

In the library field other bases for the question have been evident. The circulation of all public libraries of the State was increased, Greensboro leading the field with 33,677 over the previous year. The H. Leslie Perry Memorial Library at Henderson was opened on September 1. On September 27, the Carlton Library at Elon College was formally dedicated. And the year closed with a new library building almost completed at North Carolina State College, with a campaign on at Wake Forest for a new building, and with a committee at the University drafting plans for a library commensurate with the enlarged facilities of a modern university of the first rank.

Whether or not the title North Carolina—Publisher and Reader, is to stick we cannot say. But if it does, and we belong to the tribe which hopes it may achieve this distinction, the following facts will have to be faced.

## I. FEW PUBLISHING HOUSES

First and foremost of these is the fact that the South has not acquired the publishing habit. Of the 375 publishing houses whose catalogues appeared in 1923 in "The Publishers' Trade List Annual," 21 are located between Baltimore and New Orleans, and of the 1,692 publishers listed in "The American Book Trade Manual" for 1922 who bring out occasional books, 143 are located in the same territory. Of these, 47 are



government departments or other publishing agencies in the city of Washington, leaving a net remainder of 96 for the South at large.

Among Southern institutions of higher education, only Johns Hopkins, the University of North Carolina, Trinity College, and Sewanee have established formal presses and entered publishing fields comparable even in a limited sense to those occupied by the presses of Princeton or Chicago or Yale.

With the church publishing boards and educational publishing houses such as the B. F. Johnson Company, of Richmond, the situation is somewhat better. In 1922 the Publishing Boards of three of the leading churches of the South reported sales of publications approximately as follows: Presbyterian, \$900,000; Baptist, \$1,398,000; Methodist (including sales in the southwest), \$6,698,252. But nowhere in the South is there a publishing house of which all of us instantly think when our attention is directed to the general field of book production.

## II. ATTRACTIVE DRESS ESSENTIAL

Book making is essentially a fine art. As such it is receiving special consideration by such book designers as Bruce Rogers, C. P. Rollins, and D. B. Updike, and by such nationally representative organizations as the Graphic Arts Company of America. Consequently, format and letterpress have to be studied carefully if the products of Southern printerries are to compare favorably with those of other sections. Many Southern print shops have essential mechanical facilities and turn out excellent printing, but with this must be coupled the most careful sort of application and extensive experience if books are to be published which will help sell itself by virtue of its physical attraction.

## III. BOOK STORES RARE

Making the title stick, however, cannot be accomplished merely by placing the manuscripts of gifted writers in the hands of experienced publishers and artistic printers. In reality, the manufacturing end of the publishing business is probably the least difficult problem the book maker must face. Certainly it does not compare with the difficulties of selling when it is remembered that North Carolina stands well towards

the bottom of the list of states in its possession of books and its ability to absorb books, that the well stocked, thoroughly effective modern book store in the South is comparatively rare, and that 250 copies of such books as Woodrow Wilson's "Address on Robert E. Lee," or of Walter Hines Page's "Letters" would glut the book store market of the State for the first twelve months from date of publication.

But figures carry more conviction than assertion. In North Carolina, for example, every town of any size has its Ford agency; but in the entire State containing 2,600,000 people, there are only ten cities possessing a total of 31 bookstores listed in "The American Book Trade Manual." News stands and book shelves in drug stores are to be found fairly widely distributed throughout the State, but the Manual referred to includes only reasonably extensive businesses devoted to the sale of books or to large department stores with important book departments.

Measured by the same yardstick, Virginia, with 2,309,187 people, has 47 book stores in 13 of her cities, and Tennessee, with 2,337,885 people, has 43 stores in 7 cities. Wisconsin and Iowa, with populations approximately equal to those of the states mentioned, have double the number of stores located in double the number of cities, while Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, with a combined population equal to that of any one of the three state mentioned, have 125 stores in 33 cities.

## IV. GRAVEYARD OF JOURNALS

Telfair, Jr., writing in *The Literary Lantern* for December 7, has the following to say concerning contemporary literary journals:

Right now the question which interests us most is the state of the various literary magazines here in the South. With few exceptions something seems to have gone agley. *The Double Dealer* drifts along a month or so late and every now and then combines two months in one issue; *The Southern Magazine* is defunct; *The Fugitive* from Nashville seems to have taken wings, at least for an issue or two (we hope it is only for reorganization); *The Reviewer* is threatened and announces a possible, though by no means certain abandonment; *The Texas Review* has changed hands and becomes *The Southwest Review*; and

*All's Well* has always been so much the hobby of Charles J. Finger as to reflect the editor's busy periods and vacations by delayed publication. Right now of all the literary magazines coming our way two poetry journals only seem to be holding their own—the newly launched *Buccaneer* of Dallas and that blythe and cheerful *Lyric* of Norfolk. Of course this means something. What?

Hatteras has frequently been styled (even before the port terminals issue) the graveyard of ships. The shipwreck of *The Southern Eclectic*, *The Sunny South*, *The Uncle Remus Magazine*, *Trotwood's Monthly*, to mention four of the best known of the hundred or more publications launched in the South at various times since 1865, would seem to indicate that the South has been a veritable graveyard for such publications. And even the most notable survivors such as *The Sewanee Review* and *The South Atlantic Quarterly* have subscription lists in no way comparable to the present series of *The Yale Review* which, while no older than either of these two, has more than 20,000 subscribers.

Apart from church journals, fraternal organs, and educational and agricultural papers, which receive the support of special constituencies, only a baker's dozen of magazines or journals of opinion and comment have made real headway, and that too as a result of effort all out of proportion to the success they have achieved.

#### V. SUPPORTERS NEEDED

If North Carolina—Publisher and Reader, is to stick, a new crop of Maecenases (other names will be gladly substituted!) or supporters will have to be raised up. Popular support such as that of local chautauquas and musical festivals will not go very far in meeting manufacturing and advertising costs, and will not take the place of the sort of thing which has made the Princeton Press a go. Charles Scribner, an alumnus of Princeton, erected a building for the Press,

equipped with everything essential to a modern printing and binding plant, and then gave freely of his experience while 300 other Princeton alumni purchased copies of every volume issued by it during a given period of time.

We are not limiting the privilege of this type of support, however, to college alumni. Far from it. We are simply saying that North Carolina—Publisher and Reader, is a title that the State can win if she wants it and will go after it, and that winning it will bring her a distinction concerning which she has thought, and is now thinking, far too little.

#### WHY THE EFFORT?

Just what is involved in winning such a distinction is not at this moment altogether clear. Certainly there is more in it than merely adding something else about which North Carolina can boast, or catching the eye of the Menckens and Strothers and Cobbs. At all events, it may involve the broadening of the State's intellectual horizon through what the late C. Alphonso Smith characterized the ministry of books, it may bring about the subjection of our living and thinking to a more enlightened, first-hand criticism; it may furnish us a set of ideas more complex than those derived from our reading in the common schools and newspapers but absolutely essential to complete civilization building; and now and then it may swing wide the doors of opportunity for artistic and creative expression which, at present, are none too far ajar.

Mr. J. B. Duke's statement concerning his recent gift of \$40,000,000 to Southern institutions emphasizes the significance of the objective. He has accompanied his benefaction with the fine common-sense observation that what the South now needs for its full development is completely trained leaders who, as a result of training, have acquired this more complex and essential set of ideas.



## THE ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS

## BRYN MAWR COLLEGE:

*Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research.*

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Preparation for positions in Social Agencies, Social Institutions, Community Organizations, Manufacturing and Mercantile Industries, Organizations dealing with Industrial Problems, Social and Industrial Research. A Graduate School—One and Two Year Certificate. Degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

## CARNEGIE INSTITUTE:

*Margaret Morrison School, Department of Social Work.*

MARY CLARK BURNETT, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Undergraduate courses leading to a degree of bachelor of science in social work, and graduate courses leading to a master's degree or the degree or bachelor of science. Students over 23 years of age may enroll for two years intensive professional training. All courses include supervised field work in cooperation with social agencies.

## UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO:

*Graduate School of Social Service Administration.*  
EDITH ABBOTT, Chicago, Ill.

A Graduate School offering courses leading to the Master's and Doctor's Degrees, organized on the quarter basis.

## JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY:

*Social Economics.*

THEO JACOBS, Baltimore, Md.

Preparation for positions in social work. Affiliation with credited Baltimore social agencies. Affiliation with the Johns Hopkins Hospital in training for Hospital Social Service and Psychiatric work. College graduates after completing two years' course are candidates for a Master of Arts degree.

## INDIANA UNIVERSITY:

*Training Course for Social Workers.*

U. G. WEATHERLY, Bloomington.

ROBERT E. NEFF, Indianapolis.

Courses in professional training for social work correlated with field work, in which unusual facilities are available under direct supervision of the faculty.

In view of the diversity of courses of instruction for training social workers and the variety of administrative systems under which the instruction is given—systems which include separate schools, graduate and undergraduate schools or departments of endowed colleges and universities and of state universities, as well as schools under the auspices of religious denominations and the apprentice and institute courses of national service organizations—the Executive Committee of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work considers it desirable to make at this time a statement of the fundamental principles underlying adequate professional education for social work. The Committee hopes that this statement may be a service to those who contemplate the establishment of new schools, as well as to those concerned with the determination of policies for the existing schools.

1. Data collected from social workers and special investigations that have been made recently show clearly that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on a broad basis of professional education. Preparation of this character utilizes the technical contributions of allied professions, requires unity and continuity of instruction and is contingent upon centralized responsibility of direction and administration.

2. It is highly desirable, in order to meet these requirements, that a school offering preparation for social work should approximate the following specific organization, whether as an educational unit it be separate from, affiliated with, or constitute a part of a larger educational institution:

- A. An organic grouping of relevant courses of instruction into a special curriculum for the stated purpose of vocational training or professional education for social work.
- B. These grouped courses of instruction should consist, in general, of four types:

- (1) *Background of pre-professional courses*, to be given by a regular member or members of the faculty in good academic standing.

## LOYOLA UNIVERSITY:

*School of Sociology.*

FREDERICK SEIDENBERG, Chicago, Ill.

A two year training course for social work, with facilities for field work.

## UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN:

*Training for Social Work.*

ARTHUR B. WOOD, Ann Arbor, Mich.

College and University Courses for Training Social Workers.

## NATIONAL CATHOLIC SERVICE SCHOOL:

*Founded and maintained by the National Council of Catholic Women.* 2400—19th St., Washington, D. C.

MISS ANNE M. NICHOLSON, Director (on leave).

WILLIAM J. KERBY, Acting Director.

Two year basic course open to college graduates and others who give satisfactory proof of equivalent training and capacity. Affiliated to the Catholic University of America which confers the M.A. degree upon students who satisfy the requirements set by the University.

## UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA:

*Course for Social and Civic Work.*

F. STUART CHAPIN, Minneapolis, Minn.

Four and five year courses in social case work, group work, medical social work, rural social work, leading to B. S. and A. M. degrees.

## NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK:

PORTER R. LEE, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

A two year's course of training, scheduled on the four quarter plan. Departments include: Industry, Social Research, Community Organization, Criminology, and Social Case Work, which includes Family Case Work, Child Welfare, Mental Hygiene and Hospital Social Work. Conducts summer sessions.

## UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA:

*School of Public Welfare.*

HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Primarily a graduate school with one and two year courses looking toward social work in town and country. Social case work, community organization and recreation psychiatric social work, social research, field work. Correlated with other social science departments. Master's Degree and certificate.

## OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

**OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY:**

*Department of Social Work, College of Commerce and Journalism.*

JAMES E. HAGERTY, Columbus, Ohio.

Four year undergraduate courses in Social Administration, Family and Child Welfare, Penology, Recreation, Community Organization, Americanization and Industry. A year's graduate course leading to the A. M. degree is given.

**UNIVERSITY OF OREGON:**

*School of Social Work.*

PHILIP A. PARSONS, Portland, Oregon.

Special training offered in Family Case Work, Delinquency, Abnormal Psychology, Child Welfare, Medical Social Work and Public Health Nursing.

**PENNSYLVANIA:**

*School of Social and Health Work.*

KENNETH L. M. PRAY, Philadelphia, Pa.

Courses in Family Welfare, Child Welfare Educational Guidance, Medical Social Work, Psychiatric Social Work, Community Social Work, Community Organization and Recreation Social Research, Public Health.

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC HEALTH:**

H. H. HIBBS, JR., Richmond, Va.

Affiliated with the College of William and Mary. Three groups of courses: I. Social Case Work, II. Recreation, Playground and Community Work, III. Public Health Nursing.

**SIMMONS COLLEGE:**

*School of Social Work, Boston, Mass.*

MRS. EVA WHITING WHITE.

Full courses for professional training in Hospital Social Work—Family Welfare—Children's Work—Psychiatric Social Work—Rural Community Work—Community Organization—Industry—Research—Court Work. Write for a Bulletin.

- (2) *Specific knowledge courses*, providing a broad scientific equipment for social work, to be given by specialists in good professional standing outside the field of social work.
- (3) *Technical knowledge courses*, dealing with special branches of social work, together with clinical field work, to be given by one or more social workers eligible for senior membership in the American Association of Social Workers, with adequate academic qualifications for teaching, whose further status is that of salaried and voting members of the faculty of the school.
- (4) *Technical training courses*, to provide the skill which a practitioner must possess, consisting chiefly of intensive field work centrally supervised and directed by one or more social workers eligible to senior membership in the American Association of Social Workers, with adequate academic qualifications for teaching, whose further status is that of salaried (at least half-time) and voting members of the faculty of the school:

C. An administrator or director chosen or appointed as the executive head of the school, who is empowered, in co-operation with the faculty of the school, to exercise control over admission requirements, curriculum, credit basis for class-room and field work, and admission requirements to courses of instruction.

3. Professional education for medical social service, psychiatric social work, probation work, visiting teaching and other specialized forms of social case work, requires the co-operation of allied professions and the utilization of the resources of hospital, dispensary, court, school and other social agencies. Careful planning and close supervision is necessary to make these working relationships effective educationally. Without pre-professional requirements, unity and correlation in the curriculum and centralized administrative responsibility, it is impossible to provide adequately for the training of the prospective social worker.

**SMITH COLLEGE:**

*Training School for Social Work.*

EVERETT KIMBALL, Northampton, Mass.

For Psychiatric Social Workers, Child Welfare Workers, Visiting Teachers, Attendance Officers, Community Service Workers, Probation Officers, Family Case Workers, Medical Social Workers.

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA:**

*School of Social Welfare*

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, Los Angeles, California.

Courses in professional training for social work, correlated with field work, leading to a certificate and diploma, in social work; also to A.B. and A.M. degrees.

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO:**

*Department of Social Service.*

J. A. DALE, Toronto, Canada.

Two year course in Social Science and Practice, correlated with other facilities in university and city.

**WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY:**

*School of Applied Social Science.*

JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, Cleveland, Ohio.

A Graduate Professional School combining academic study and practical training under the direct supervision of the faculty.

**UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN:**

*Courses in Social Case Work.*

J. L. GILLIN, Madison, Wis.

Background courses in Economics, Sociology, Psychology Psychiatry, Dietetics, and Heredity. Training courses in Family Case Work, Publicity, Public speaking, Organization and Administration. 300 hours of supervised field work with families in an accredited family agency.



## ALABAMA:

Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.

Birmingham Southern College, Birmingham.

Woman's College of Alabama, Montgomery.

## FLORIDA:

University of Florida, Gainesville.

Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee.

## GEORGIA:

Agnes Scott College, Decatur.

Emory University, Emory University.

Wesleyan College, Macon.

Georgia School of Technology, Atlanta.

## KENTUCKY:

University of Kentucky, Lexington.

## TEXAS:

University of Texas, Austin.

Agricultural & Mechanical College, College Station.

## LOUISIANA:

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, Baton Rouge.

Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans.

## NORTH CAROLINA:

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Davidson College, Davidson.

East Carolina Training School, Greenville.

Elon College, Elon College.

North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro.

North Carolina State College of Agriculture & Engineering, Raleigh.

Meredith College, Raleigh.

## SOUTH CAROLINA:

Converse College, Spartanburg.

Wofford College, Spartanburg.

## TENNESSEE:

University of the South, Sewanee.

Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville.

University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga.

## Educational Leadership

### *A Task of Cooperative Social Concern*

MR. WILSON'S "common prudence" in the August *Atlantic* "that we should look about us and attempt to assess the causes of distress and the most likely means of removing them" constitutes a welcome challenge to southern institutions of learning.

To that end will be expected larger endowments and support for adequate faculty, adequate physical plants, comprehensive curricula, thinking student bodies, more fellowships and scholarships for the social studies.

## MISSISSIPPI:

Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College, Agricultural College.

University of Mississippi, University.

## VIRGINIA:

University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Washington and Lee University, Lexington.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg.

Randolph-Macon College, Ashland.

Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg.

Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar.